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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2191

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29 August 1983

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## NEED TO ELIMINATE SHORTCOMINGS IN LITERARY CRITICISM

Tirana DRITA in Albanian 19 Jun 83 pp 1, 4

[Article: "When We Speak About the Backwardness of Criticism"]

[Text] Naturally, the backwardness of criticism must not be understood as a lagging behind in place and even less as a turning back. On the contrary, in recent years our literary and artistic criticism has demonstrated increasing growth. As evidence of this it is sufficient to recall, however cursorily, that 10 years ago the appearance in circulation of a collection of studies and critical articles constituted an event in our publications, while today publications come out at a good rate in this field. Thus, for example, in the course of the last 5 years (1978-1982), the "Naim Frashëki" publishing enterprise alone has given readers 17 books and collections of critical studies and articles on literature, the arts, folklore, etc. Among these, one should mention "Labirinthe e modernizmit" ["The Labyrinths of Modernism"] and "Mitologia, folklori dhe letrësi" ["Mythology, Folklore and Literature"] by A. Uci, "Vezhgime Teorike-letrare" ["Theoretical-Literary Observations"] and "Vepra e probleme të realizmit socialist" ["Works and Problems of Socialist Realism"] by D. Shaplllo, "Arti dhe koha" ["Art and Time"] by D. Agolli, "Tradita dhe risi letrare" ["Literary Tradition and Innovation"] by J. Bulo, and "Shkrimtari dhe dukuri letrare" ["Writers and Literary Phenomena"] by M. Xhaxhiu, etc.

These and other achievements aside, the backwardness of criticism is apparent firstly, when we compare the pace of its growth with the pace of the development of literature and the arts, and secondly, when we consider how many contemporary literary and artistic phenomena and works remain outside the attention of social opinion.

"Professional literary criticism," Comrade Enver has stressed, "is not the only judge of literary and artistic activity. The view of readers, of the public, of all social opinion is, in the end, the most just judge of this creation. This truth must always be borne in mind by authors, as well as by critics." Efforts to stimulate and publicize the judgment of the masses regarding various literary and artistic works and phenomena are one of the ways of making our critical view more alive and more active. There are many different ways of accomplishing this. Thus, for example, the rubrics with views of readers and spectators which are occasionally published by the literary and artistic press are helpful. Stimulation of the critical opinion of

the masses has also been served by meetings and conversations among artists, interpreters and performers with readers and spectators in the four corners of the country. The efforts to compose rubrics with the views and judgments of readers and spectators as skillfully as possible, struggling against stereotyped forms of writing which imitate models of reviews published by our critics have yielded results, but it is possible for these to be made even more effective in the future. For this it is necessary that it be understood that in the eliciting and publicizing of the views of the art-loving masses, the organization of this work plays an important role. Questionnaires, recorded conversations, interviews, the publication and study of statistics regarding the dissemination and reading of a work, etc., etc. could be several more productive forms of eliciting the fresh and living opinion of the masses, without slogans and stamps. Parallel with this, teachers of literature, librarians, booksellers, etc. can also give their assistance in this matter to reviewers, writers and artists.

In the judgment and evaluation of literary and artistic creation, parallel with the opinion of art-lovers, an important role is also played by the view of the writer and artist on various problems, on literary works and phenomena. It is an old tradition of our literature that the writer not see himself simply as an artist, but also give his own assistance in the development of critical and esthetic opinion. We recall here Jeronim De Rada and his work "Parimet e estetikes" ["The Principles of Esthetics"], N. Frasheri and his notes on poetry abroad and in Albania, Luigj Gurakuqi and his help in the study of Albanian poetry, Fan Noli with his famous introductions or his work "Bethoveni dhe revolucioni freng" ["Beethoven and the French Revolution"] which attracted the attention of literary and artistic personalities of the time, etc. In the epoch of the party, this tradition has continued and was raised to an even higher level, aside from other reasons, because the majority of our authors have had the requisite cultural and professional education and training.

It is sufficient to recall in this regard the help which such writers as Dh. Shuteriqi, D. Agolli, I. Kadare, N. Bulka, Ll. Siliqi, F. Arapi, J. Xoxa, F. Gjata, etc. have given and continue to give. With all the achievements in this area, several problems have arisen also. The fact is evident, for example, that artists, including composers, painters, sculptors, directors, etc., have done and continue to do less than what is required for the development of critical opinion. This gap is apparent if one bears in mind the other fact that we have very few critics in these areas of the arts. Another lack is also always apparent: the younger generation of writers and artists concern themselves little or not at all with criticism at a time when the opposite is required, although they have received a fuller and more specialized education in national culture and although the general level of criticism and literary and artistic studies is higher today than it was 15-20 years ago. Such a lack has its source also in a feeling of conformism, the wish not to damage good relations with one person or another. Today, when our publications, performances and exhibitions have increased in quantity, the problem of the artist's keeping up with them has also emerged; because there are occasions when we do not read or see each other's works, there is even less opportunity to discuss them afterward in analyses and studies.



Parallel with the opinion of art lovers and of authors, a great and irreplaceable role in the development of criticism and aesthetic studies is played by professional criticism done by specialists whose major creative activity is the study and analysis of various literary and artistic works and phenomena. As Comrade Enver has stressed, "We have a need for scientific and skilled criticism which has within it both the indispensable revolutionary pathos so important for the discovery of exceptional values in literature and art, and the spirit which is incompatible with any distortion, with any foreign manifestation in their development. We have a need for the sort of criticism which speaks with courage and competence about every literary and artistic phenomenon." If our aesthetic criticism does not follow the creative process step by step, it does not speak as it should and as much as it should about literary and artistic works and phenomena; specialized criticism has a fine, responsible share in this. A range of problems emerges for its development. The manifestation of conformism which is seen in the pages of our periodical press and which is embodied in such forms as the lack of concrete analysis, paraphrases of known literary facts and conclusions which pass from one piece of writing to another, the citing of flaws often in a general manner, without mentioning either works or authors, as if these flaws did not pertain to particular works, but were common to all literature and art, etc. All these often arise from the lack of civic courage to say things as they emerge from the detailed study and analysis which the critic must make. Civic courage derives as much from the ideological-political and professional training of the critic as from the literary and artistic atmosphere. It is a task of our organization to arouse opinion even further against those authors who consider that even the slightest comment made about them is the greatest injustice that one may do to their work. The avoidance of these phenomena cannot be achieved without further stirring up the spirit of discussion and debate, without understanding in depth the necessary demand of the Eighth Party Congress that qualitative improvement is needed everywhere, even in the area of literature and the arts.

The development of literary and artistic criticism at the pace required by the times cannot be made without giving special attention to the continually increasing number of people who deal especially with criticism and studies. This can be achieved in several ways. First, by means of a greater activation of students of literature and art who work in scientific institutions of the Academy of Sciences, the University of Tirana, higher institutes of education, etc. The signatures of these workers must appear more frequently and with better quality in the pages of the literary and artistic press. Moreover, one of their annual tasks, a task for which an accounting is rarely required, is to write articles and notes for popular consumption on works and phenomena which they study in their daily work. The increase of critics always presupposes that there is a strengthening of both subjects of general content and theoretical subjects of the specialty in our schools of higher education with artistic specialization. At the same time, thought should be given to a specialization, however elementary, perhaps even with 2-3 courses of special lectures, for students who show promise in the field of criticism. The organization of forms of postgraduate training and the more studied dissemination of dissertation topics, so that the more skilled and confirmed forces may deal with problems of contemporary literature could be another way of increasing

the number of critics and, especially, the quantity and quality of writings regarding the current literary and artistic situation. Attention to ways and means for the preparation of critics and students in such fields as cinematography, theater, etc. where there is a perceptible need, is another direction where it is necessary to seek and work.

12249

CSO: 2100/57



## BULGARIA

### BRIEFS

AIR LINK WITH PDRY--Sofia, 6 Jul (BTA)--A new Aden-Kuwait-Sofia airline was opened. The Bulgarian capital is the first European town in which the "Al Yemda" airplanes (of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen) land. The Yemeni airplanes will come to Sofia once a week. With "Al Yemda" the number of airway companies which have regular lines with Bulgaria comes to 16. Many other airway companies do charter flights to Bulgarian towns. The "Balkan" airlines is also expanding its international network of lines. Ankara has become recently its 45th point. [Text] [AU101430 Sofia BTA in English 1332 GMT 6 Jul 83]

FILIPOV RECEIVES ROMANIAN AMBASSADOR--Grisha Filipov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers, yesterday received Petre Duminica, Romanian ambassador to Bulgaria, in connection with the latter's forthcoming final departure from the country. Mariy Ivanov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs, also attended the friendly talks. [Text] [AU101430 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Jul 83 p 6]

FILIPOV RECEIVES NEW DPRK AMBASSADOR--Grisha Filipov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers, yesterday received (Ha Don-yun), the newly appointed DPRK ambassador to Bulgaria. Lyubomir Popov, deputy minister of foreign affairs, also attended the friendly talks. [Text] [AU101430 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Jul 83 p 6]

BCP COMMITTEE PLENUM HELD--An expanded plenum of the Sofia City BCP Committee, attended by Chudomir Aleksandrov, first secretary of the committee, was held on 2 August. Dimitur Ganev, secretary of the Sofia City BCP Committee, spoke on the results of work accomplished in connection with the efforts to enhance the role of basic party organizations throughout the country and to consolidate their positions as leading political forces in the life of workers collectives. The decisions adopted at the plenum are aimed at further improving work and encouraging positive trends in the development of local party organizations, as well as at correctly implementing Todor Zhivkov's instructions given at the Varna party conference in view of the forthcoming National Party Conference. "The plenum released Stefan Dosev, secretary of the Sofia City BCP Committee, from his duties because of his transfer to other functions; Vasil Tsurvenkov was elected secretary in his place." [Summary] [AU041009 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 3 Aug 83 p 2]

LOCATING SATELLITES BY LASER--Sofia, 12 Aug (BTA)--For more than 2 years now the laser location of the "interkosmos-Bulgaria 1300" satellite has been performed through the original Bulgarian "OLSS" system (optical laser light-reflecting system). Having a maximum suitable size and weight of only 4.5 kg, it ensures a good laser location of the satellite. This is also confirmed by more than 2,000 measurement made at a distance from it by 14 laser stations all over the world. So far quite a number of prestigious laboratories in the world have given high appraisals of the original scientific solution. The highest recognition was the order placed by the Soviet Union for the making of a similar laser location reflector of satellites of the "meteor" type. The scientific workers at the Central Higher Geodesy Laboratory under Prof Dr N. Georgiev have already carried out the necessary researches for designing the new "OLSS-M" device. A model of the system has been made, and after the completion of the laboratory tests being carried out now, the first flying model of "OLSS-M" is expected to be delivered to the Soviet researches at the end of the year. [Excerpts] [AU121110 Sofia BTA in English 0845 GMT 12 Aug 83]

TECHNICAL PROTOCOL WITH GDR--Sofia, 13 Aug (BTA)--"Favorable preconditions exist between Bulgaria and the German Democratic Republic for cooperation in the sphere of robotics and microelectronics. The efficiency of our industrial enterprises will rise, if we aim our efforts at cooperation in the manufacture of aggregate and metal-working machines, hydraulic devices and the control of machinetools. We shall have to use this equipment to the maximum, so that we will be able to create in the near future flexible automatic production systems" said the minister for machine tools and processing machines of the German Democratic Republic, Mr Rudi Georgi, here today while signing a protocol on the talks he had with the Bulgarian minister of mechanical engineering and the electronic industry, Mr Toncho Chakurov. [Excerpt] [AU141200 Sofia BTA in English 1835 GMT 13 Aug 83]

CSO: 2200/131

## BRIEFS

NEUROLOGISTS CONFER--A European conference of the CIANS [International Society for the Research of Higher Neurological System] began in Olomouc on Monday. It is being attended by experts from 15 European countries and from Japan and the United States. The key factor unifying various lines of research is stressed and its impact on health. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Jul 83 p 2 AU]

MAURITANIAN ENVOY APPOINTED--CSSR President Gustav Husak has appointed Jan Zizka as Czechoslovakia's new ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Islamic Republic of Mauritania. [Summary] [AU101511 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Jul 83 p 1 AU]

AUSTRIAN ENVOY ENDS MISSION--Heinz Weinberger, Austrian ambassador to the CSSR, has ended his tour of duty and left Czechoslovakia. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Jul 83 p 2 AU]

SUDANESE ENVOY ENDS MISSION--Mubarak Uthman Rahman, ambassador of the Democratic Republic of Sudan to the CSSR, has ended his tour of duty and left Czechoslovakia for good. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Jul 83 p 2 AU]

MEXICAN RELATIONS ASSESSED--On 4 July in Prague Jaromir Johanes, CSSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, and his visiting Mexican counterpart Ricardo Valero exchanged views on the current situation in the world, with particular emphasis on maintaining peace, and assessed the current state of and prospects for CSSR-Mexican relations. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Jul 83 p 2 AU]

DPRK DELEGATION--A DPRK delegation led by candidate member of the Korean Workers Party Central Committee and minister of health, Pak Myong-pin arrived in Bratislava today as a part of a friendly visit to Czechoslovakia. The guests will sightsee in the city and acquaint themselves with new construction in the downtown area and housing estates. [Text] [LD240537 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1400 GMT 23 Jul 83 LD]

KAMPUCHEAN AMBASSADOR--Deputy Foreign Minister Stanislav Svoboda today received the ambassador of the People's Republic of Kampuchea Phong Sareth, and the ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, Vu Song, in the Cernin Palace in Prague. They informed him about the 7th conference of Indochinese foreign ministers held on 19-20 July in Phnom Penh, and delivered a copy of its final

communique. During a comradely discussion Deputy Minister Svoboda praised the peace endeavor of Indochinese states and assured the two ambassadors of the Czechoslovak Government's support for the conclusions of the 7th conference which seek to lessen tension and strengthen peace, stability and good neighborly relations in Southeast Asia, as well as to normalize relations with China on the principles of peaceful coexistence. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1330 GMT 22 Jul 83 LD]

CSO: 2400/403

EXPULSED DISSIDENT INTERVIEWED ON PACIFIST MOVEMENT

West Berlin DIE TAGEZEITUNG in German 21 Jul 83 p 9

[Abridged version of interview with former Jena dissident Roland Jahn, allegedly given by the WAS TUN magazine (No 357) and sent as 'preprint' to DIE TAGESZEITUNG: "'I Personally Am Not a Pacifist'"]

[Text] The interview with Roland Jahn was conducted in West Berlin in late June. Jahn has been living there since his forcible expatriation, the details of which have already been reported in the TAZ [TAGESZEITUNG]. This interview deals with different questions--the start of the GDR peace movement, its stand toward official activities in this question, unilateral disarmament and pacifism, and the work of the Jena group. The interview was made available to us as a preprint from the WAS TUN magazine (No 357). With Roland Jahn's agreement, we have abridged it by about one-third.

[Question] Why is the GDR bureaucracy so allergic to the autonomous peace movement that, as in your case, it does not even stop short of forcible expulsion? The Jena peace group does support the official government's proposals as well; so what is the problem as far as the GDR is concerned?

[Answer] The problem is that we do not stop, that we proceed to concrete matters, to what takes place in everyday life. And it is there that we see the contradictions between militarism in the life of society and the officially professed desire for peace. The way the authorities interpret this is that this movement might then lead to something which calls the entire social structures in question. The structure of the system is such that it disciplines people and declares them incompetent, the same way as it is done in the armed forces: orders and obedience. What exists is not a democracy but tyrannical militarism. And we are against militarism, militarism anywhere in the world, and so we naturally start in our country, where we notice it every day, and point it up. We thus unmask the official professions of peace and become dangerous as a result. There is a sense of threat, of restriction everywhere, but it is not always expressed externally. The movement itself is inside the people everywhere, but as someone takes a public stand, more and more people take courage, realizing suddenly how restricted, how bereft of



rights they are, and so they start to speak up and to demur. This causes movement, and this is what is to be countered. We do not, however, take a stand as an opposition for the sake of opposition. We simply want peaceful coexistence with respect for the individual and human dignity--conditions in which it is also possible for the individual to develop.

[Question] What role does the church play as far as you all are concerned?

[Answer] The GDR Protestant Church makes a decisive contribution to autonomous work for peace being developed in the first place. There are, however, a great many problems, which would have to be dealt with in greater detail. In sum, with us in Jena, conflicts led to a situation where for a start we came out into the open as a peace group independent of state and church.

[Question] I have in mind the Pentecost meeting of the FDJ--impressive to behold on television. What is it that portrays itself there as an "official" peace movement? Merely bureaucratically organized mobilizations?

[Answer] On the one hand, yes. But I do not deny the sincerity of the people participating. It is quite natural to oppose the NATO missile decision.

The ways in which that occurs are prescribed. But something else also plays a part. It is a Pentecost meeting of youth, which means that anyone goes there who wants to be present at something interesting.... Certainly some are manipulated in the process, but the majority, for a start, is taking a stand for the cause of peace. The problem is that nobody may go beyond the officially prescribed slogans. In the West things are sometimes portrayed as if everything was organized. So people in effect say to themselves: Perhaps they are not really against it. That is nonsense. I don't know anyone in the GDR who is for the NATO missile decision, because if a gun is pointed at you, you are not going to be for it being pointed at you. And the Pershing II's are pointed at us in the GDR.

[Question] I am asking about the official peace movement because in the Western peace movement one can encounter an attitude opposing relations with the official peace councils in the GDR for the reason that they represent bloc interests....

[Answer] I think it is quite wrong not to enter into any relations, because they have to be taken by their word and challenged. Thus one can also help those who get together autonomously. Through these contacts it will be possible to see to it that it is not all that easy to proceed against the autonomous groupings. The official peace councils want to be in contact with Western peace groupings; that is important to the GDR. And when these groupings say, "Let your autonomous peace movement operate as it pleases (autonomous movement actually is not the right term, and we have always avoided it because we want to be a single movement), then they have to take a stand toward it. If one does not speak to them in the first place, it is also impossible to make demands. One could point to quite concrete items in this connection, such as the arrests.

[Question] To what extent are the autonomous peace circles an isolated group in the GDR? Is there an effect on the rest of society, on organizations such as the FDJ?

[Answer] What is described as autonomous work for peace is carried out predominantly by the Protestant Church. And from there there is an effect on the population, many of whom are of course Christians.

If that is then applied to us in Jena, who have also worked outside the church, the reaction has been very varied. For a start, people take notice of it. I would like to mention three actions. The minute of silence at Christmas, the demonstration on the occasion of the anniversary of the bombing of Jena and the FDJ peace demonstration at Pentecost were public. (Beyond that, we also consider the content of the work important, which I will explain in a minute.) The public actions have an effect on the population. To say "population" actually goes too far, for the official demonstrations are mainly attended by the cheerers, with the broad masses hardly in attendance--except in the case of the FDJ, where attendance is obligatory. But many of the 15- or 16-year-old FDJ members are searching for something new, are ready to grapple with all kinds of ideas.

During the minute of silence at Christmas, something dawned on the population as a result of the large turnout of security forces. Some then say these are dreamers, while others participate in the slander against us, saying "Those are antisocial elements." A large part of them, however, know what it is about, what we oppose. They know, but they think it is no use. And that, you know, is the attitude of the opposition in the GDR--to say that it is no use. And yet others say in turn: This must be supported; what they are doing is a good thing.

[Question] Do people talk about it--in the plants, for example?

[Answer] Sure they do--when there is publicity, whenever the security organs have gone into action. This can be made quite clear. A minute of silence took place in November. In the wake of it, passers-by talked to the participants, there were smallish discussion groups. Then it was over again. Another minute of silence was to occur on 24 December. There was an enormous amount of security organs, armed militia etc. Though the minute of silence did not take place then, because it was prevented, it immediately was the talk of the town in Jena. Or the demonstration on 18 March. We went in with posters and were beaten up. It immediately became known everywhere.

In the case of Pentecost, we were tolerated in part, and the people then also faced the issue--very cautiously of course, but they did make the attempt. Then some of our posters were torn down again, and some discussions arose. Masses of very young FDJ members were standing around, and some of them then said: Yes, we are on your side. And in Schwerin, FDJ members picked up posters which had been torn down. So one notices the movement, one notices what is inside the people and that it is primarily a matter of bringing these things out into the open. We fared exactly the same way, after all. We did not stop at the demand for disarmament but saw the contradictions in everyday

life. These become the major thing just as soon as one goes deeper, just as soon as one does not simply say, "There are some missiles directed against us," but analyzes in detail whatever is threatening one. One sees that what is going on in the armed forces does not serve an education for peace--any more than what takes place in school in the way of military education, or military toys. So it is there that one must make a start. But, of course, what is visible is the missiles. But then one gets to a point where one realizes that this militarization characterizes certain ways of life, subordination, depriving people of their right to make decisions--and then one develops further. It becomes no longer just a question concerning disarmament but one concerning democratic freedoms, concerning human rights.

[Question] What role does the demand for unilateral disarmament play as far as you in the GDR are concerned?

[Answer] There are various concepts. Personally, I think that disarmament must be mutual but that one has to set an example with individual measures, that one has to make the kind of moves that are conducive to the other side doing likewise.

[Question] Would you advocate what you have just said in the GDR? Despite the fact that you take a quite definite stand toward NATO counterarming?

[Answer] Yes, one must take steps that set an example. The whole computation about arms potentials is meaningless, and therefore I don't worry too much about the calculations. As for the negotiations in Geneva, I regard them not as lacking meaning but as lacking results. Therefore disarmament from below, overlapping the blocs, is always more important, and one has to seek ways there. What is important there is exchange, and what is important is an attitude of demurral by individuals. Those in power in East and West are not interested in disarmament. The ones make their profits in the armament industry, the others need militarism and armament to maintain the power structures. Not only power for the sake of power, psychologically speaking, but quite concretely, because with us everyone is anchored in this military system. The officers or those who have a good job in the armament industry make a good living. They reap profits from it, though not the same way a capitalist does, by virtue of their place in the hierarchy of the system. An officer, a general, who bears a sword, sparkling with gold, and makes a good living in the process is not eager to pull a plow and to sweat. Therefore he opposes the "swords into plowshares" slogan.

For these reasons the peace movement must be propelled further and further from below. The people have to refuse to play along. To put it quite naively, if no missiles are produced, there won't be any. And who sees to it? Workers. It is there that one must make a start, and so I think the question concerning unilateral disarmament is a good one. To start unilaterally with oneself, not to go to the army, not to manufacture armament goods or toys etc., to contribute to an education for peace starting with quite primitive things. One cannot prevent wars by preparing for them; one can do so only by educating for peace.

[Question] But the crux of my earlier question was whether you want to demand unilateral advance actions in disarmament in the GDR.

[Answer] One has to document what is possible. If in the GDR or in the Eastern bloc steps are now taken which show a genuine desire for peace, it would call in question even more the justification of stationing missiles in Western Europe.

[Question] In the Federal Republic, the DKP [German Communist Party] asserts that the logical consequence of the pacifism of the autonomous peace groupings in the FRG is to also oppose military armament for the defense of the Nicaraguan revolution.

[Answer] There are very disparate concepts in the autonomous peace groupings. There exist wholly consistent pacifists. I personally am no pacifist and would also take up a weapon; it would depend entirely on the respective situation. And there is a great difference between Central America and Europe. Here everything will become independent in the case of war anyway; there will be no victors. In Central America, however, suppression of democracy has taken on such forms as to destroy people as a result of passive resistance and the lack of use of force. That makes it necessary to examine the possibilities. The guerrillas in El Salvador, too, have made offers of negotiations, but when it becomes a question of destroying life, there is an end to it at some point. In Europe, on the other hand, it is not exactly a routine matter for one to be shot down in the street or around the corner. One has enough possibilities without the use of force to bring about change. In Central America, however, one has to resort to one's rifle. "I sing about peace in the middle of war, but I also sing about war in this thrice-damned murderous peace." (Wolf Biermann) That is also my view. But as to the position of the DKP, I would like to add something. An utterance such as "swords into plowshares" is portrayed there in such a stereotype way that in principle it comes down to slander of the autonomous peace movement. What the peace groupings in the GDR want above all is the right to utter thoughts of one's own in the first place. But one must first be able to speak; that is where the problems lie. Sure, there are consistent pacifists, but everyone must have the right to utter it without being imprisoned for it. I do not imprison any officer of the People's Army because he believes he has to defend his country with weapon in hand. Conversely I expect not to be imprisoned when I say that I will not take up any arms and serve in any army which may even send me to Poland. I will decide myself what to defend. That is the right to self-determination of anyone, and it must be guaranteed everywhere in life.

[Question] What kind of role have events in Poland played in the GDR?

[Answer] There were many layers; it caused many hopes, particularly among the young generation. A great part of the peace movement regards itself as a society-pervading alternative movement. The people are prepared to forge a normal development, career, etc. simply on account of the threat. This then develops further in an urge for an unfolding of one's personality, which is possible only in democratic conditions. And so any development in this direction is, of course, welcomed. Poland was like the GDR: election results



of 99 percent. And suddenly the people learn to speak up themselves. That made many people optimistic, making possible some hopes for the GDR. On the other hand, one sees of course that the GDR is not Poland. As yet they are doing well--I mean materially.

[Question] How are things going to continue in Jena now? The peace group has lost a great many of its members?

[Answer] There are people enough who go on. While it is a group--in other words, no organization with chairman etc.--there exists a structure. We have given ourselves a concept. For us peace is not the lack of war but something that happens, that inevitably can be experienced in a concrete situation. This also means that there is an attempt to sort out things substantively, to have an impact on society. We are not just a rabble out for dramatic actions.

We began working in groups. At first the problems of militarism were the subject. Then the question concerning the causes cropped up or concerning the origins--education. Then we asked ourselves: What continues to threaten us?--Of course, the relationship between man and nature or the environment, and so an ecological group was formed. Further, many people are put in jail, are exposed to arbitrary action by the state and don't know the law. So there forms a group which deals with legal questions. Or we asked ourselves: Are we alone in the GDR? There are such groups everywhere, so we have to establish contacts and exchange information. Everybody contributed what he could to the work. This included artistic forms. For example, we worked a lot with photographic techniques, coming up with postcards about the subjects of peace, which we then distributed in the GDR.

All this continues. People have left, including key ones, but all that continues to exist. Even if one cannot say just how many people are part of the peace movement, it is known that there is something inside the people, that increasing armament and militarization, increasing use of force by the state--and also, quite concretely, my being kicked out, for instance--have a certain effect, with the result that the people seek ways of doing something together with others about the threat. Thus such groups emerge, and these groups will also again be joined by new people.

8790

CS0: 2300/346



ARMY VEHICLE TO REPAIR MEDICAL EQUIPMENT DESCRIBED

East Berlin ZEITSCHRIFT FUER MILITAERMEDIZIN in German Vol 24 No 3, Jun 83  
(signed to press 28 Feb 83) pp 136-138

[Article by Col J Riedel, pharmacist, and Col Dr S Tramburg, engineer:  
"The Medical Equipment Workshop for Repairing Field Medical Equipment in  
Combat"]

[Text] Summary: The introduction of new military medicine technology into field medical equipment has had an impact on medical-technological maintenance for medical branches, units and installations. One of the primary tasks for medical-technological maintenance in combat is organizational repair. To this end, the medical service has added the medical equipment workshop to its inventory. It consists of two workshop sections which may be used jointly or separately depending on the repair work to be done. Efficient use of the workshop as well as its constant operational readiness and a high level of functional reliability of the repaired military-medical technology are all provided by qualified maintenance personnel.

1. Introduction

Advanced development of field medical equipment of the NVA medical service has been characterized by the introduction of new products of military-medical technology. This creates the necessary conditions for providing the increased services demanded of medical technology in combat. The inventory of new military-medical technology includes complete military-medical packages in folding trunks (2, 3, 4, 6, 10) and individual pieces of equipment as well as kits (4, 7, 8, 9). These revolutionary innovations have helped the NVA medical service to improve the quality of the technical equipment of its service branches, units and installations.

This process, which is by no means complete, has led to new procedures to provide medical-technological maintenance both at military posts and in combat and guarantee constant operational readiness of field medical equipment.

Military-technological maintenance at military posts focuses on the training of service personnel and the maintenance and servicing of military medical technology. Breakdowns are few and repairs are generally performed at outside workshops.

But under combat conditions more breakdowns are to be expected despite the fact that the service personnel is familiar with the technology and that the field medical equipment is maintained in a state of good repair. Based on the projected scope and type of damage, it may be assumed that unit maintenance personnel will be able to do the necessary repair work in short order. Given this state of affairs, performance of the medical branches and units should not be adversely affected by technical breakdowns.

Organizational repair is performed in an ongoing manner and as part of medium-term maintenance. Some of the procedures involved in ongoing maintenance—as in the case of other military equipment—may be taken care of in little time and at little expense by the operators in the various medical units and installations. But major repair and maintenance will only be possible to do in special repair and maintenance facilities adapted to combat conditions. Just such a facility of the NVA medical service is the medical technology workshop.

## 2. Description of Workshop

The medical technology workshop is a mobile workshop primarily designed to provide for repair and maintenance of selected military-medical technology that is a part of field medical equipment.

The workshop is divided into two segments—one of these being an electrical/electronic workshop and the other being a mechanical workshop.

Each of the segments consist of one workshop vehicle of the Ural 375 D/C/K type with a trunk on its roof; an attached tent with oil heater; a supply of spare parts contained in an HL 50.02/1 trailer and a tent to house the crew of the workshop segment.

Illustration 1 shows one of the workshop segments getting ready to move.



The Ural 375 D/C/K, used as a supporting frame chassis for the trunk section, has a 10-foot container pickup device in place of the standard platform frame. It also has an attached crane and a winch for recovery and repair work.

The trunk assembly used is the "easily detachable trunk" LAK II A 1 which the NVA uses for a variety of purposes. The outer shell is made of glass fiber reinforced polyester and can be sealed hermetically. With any type of container lifting device or crane the LAK can be transferred to any other chassis such as the W 50 LA/A/C vehicle, for example.

Its basic equipment includes a 4 kVA, 380-volt generator; a three-phase current power supply system of 3 x 380V/220 V; a 24-volt DC power supply system; a heating and ventilation system and a filter ventilation system.

The equipment contained in the LAK has been built and outfitted in such a way that it can be used under all climatic and combat conditions and independent of other technology and power supply.

The electrical/electronic workshop vehicle is used primarily to do maintenance and technical tests on electro-medical and precision instruments.

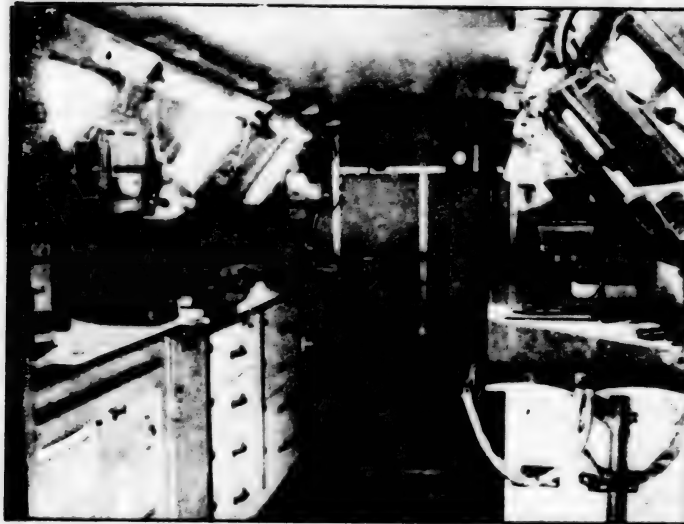
The vehicle used for the mechanical workshop is a modified "Workshop B" vehicle of the transportation service. This workshop is used primarily to do maintenance on medical service stowage equipment and boiler systems.

Recurring, non-specific repair and maintenance work on all types of military-medical equipment can be performed by both workshop vehicles.

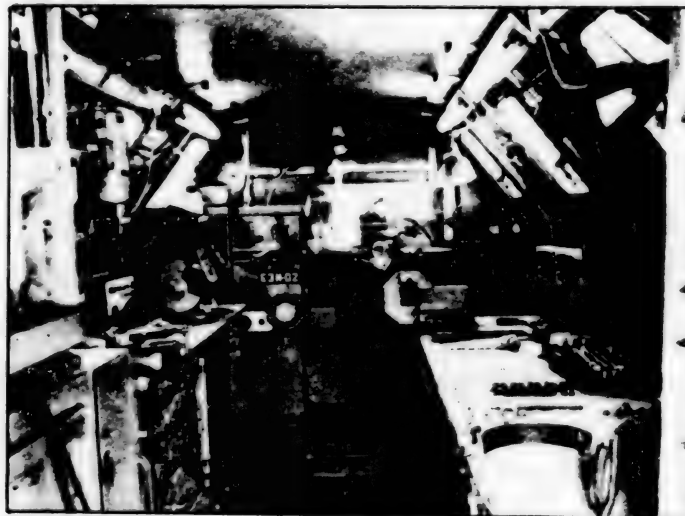
Illustrations 2 and 3 show the interior of the workshop vehicles. Table 1 lists the major equipment carried by both.

The attached tent may be put up against the right exterior wall of the LAK or in a free-standing manner. It provides 11 square meters of workspace protected against the elements. It can be used for all work which cannot be performed inside the vehicle for lack of space or because of safety considerations.

The spare parts are stored in drawers with locking devices for safe transport but which also permit quick removal. In keeping with the maintenance character of the medical equipment workshop, the spare parts inventory is arranged in kits. Small components and modules are packaged in standardized containers of the TB-AI 200 and 400 type. Larger modules are kept singly in specially designed racks. The vehicles also contain the other resources, standard equipment and materials required to perform repair and maintenance work. Both the composition of the inventory and its stowage in the trailer give the workshop prolonged freedom of action without any need of resupply. The exchange of standard packaged units makes it possible to reequip the spare parts inventory efficiently in line with the needs of field medical equipment.



Ill. 2



Ill. 3

Table 1. Major Equipment Contained in Medical Technology Workshop

**Tabelle 1**  
**Wichtige Ausrüstungsgegenstände der WMT**

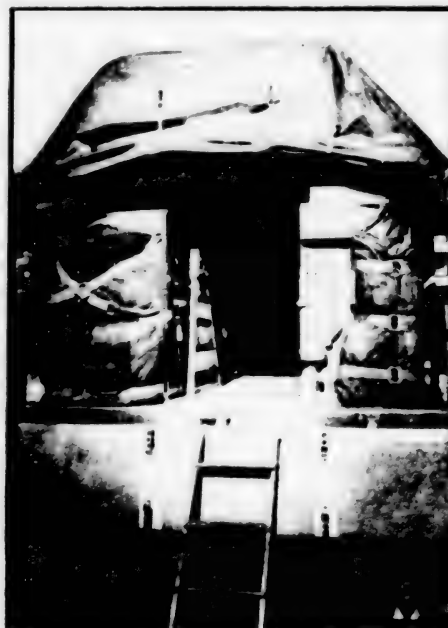
(1)	Ausrüstungsgegenstand	enthalten in		(2)
		WA I	WA II	
(3)	AC Millivoltmeter	X		
(4)	Breitband-RC-Generator	X		
(5)	Elektrobankschleifmaschine	X		
(6)	Elektro-Handbohrmaschine, groß, mit Ständer		X	
(7)	Elektro-Handbohrmaschine, klein, mit Ständer	X		
(8)	Elektro- und Benzin-Lötgeräte	X	X	
(9)	Elektro-Schweißgerät	X	X	
(10)	Gewindeschneidausrüstung	X	X	
(11)	Gleichspannungsregler	X		
(12)	Hydraulischer Heber	X	X	
(13)	Impuls-Schweißgerät	X	X	
(14)	Mehrstufen-Heißgasschweißgerät	X	X	
(15)	Präzisionsdrehmaschine	X		
(16)	Schweiß- und Schneidbrenneranlagen	X	X	
(17)	Sparstelltransformator	X		
(18)	Spezialschleifeinrichtung	X	X	
(19)	Tragbare Verdichteranlage	X	X	
(20)	Transistorenprüfgerät	X		
(21)	Universal-Kleindrehmaschine		X	

Key:

- |  |                                     |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Equipment item                                      | 11. Direct voltage regulator        |
| 2. Contained in Section I or II                        | 12. Hydraulic jack                  |
| 3. AC millivolt meter                                  | 13. Pulse welding torch             |
| 4. Wide band RC generator                              | 14. Multistage hot gas welding set  |
| 5. Electric bench grinder                              | 15. Precision lathe                 |
| 6. Large electric hand drill with stand                | 16. Welding and blowtorch equipment |
| 7. Small electric hand drill with stand                | 17. Low output transformer          |
| 8. Electrical and gasoline-powered soldering equipment | 18. Special grinding tools          |
| 9. Electric welding torch                              | 19. Portable compressor system      |
| 10. Thread cutting equipment                           | 20. Transistor test equipment       |
|  | 21. All-purpose small lathe         |



Illustration 4 shows the display of such a spare parts section.



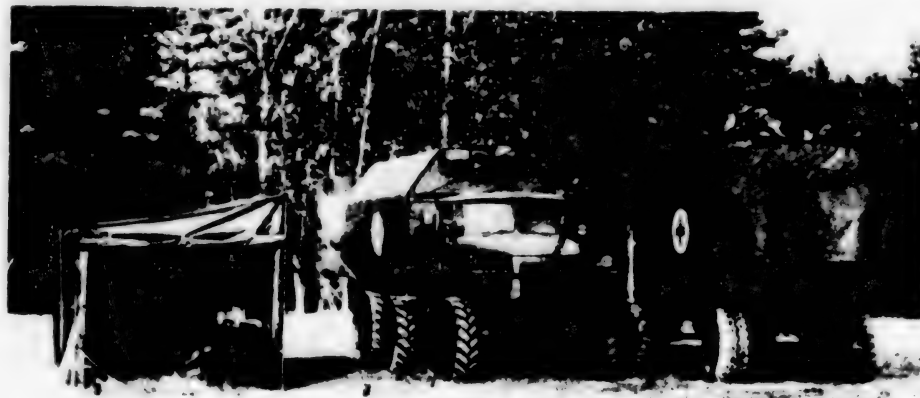
### 3. Performance Capability and Operational Use

The workshops can do drilling; assembly and disassembly work; lathe work; pressure tests on boilers; electric welding; electrical/electronic measurements; painting; milling; gas welding; threading; hard and soft soldering; woodwork; laminating and glueing; sharpening and welding of thermoplastics.

The workshops do repairs primarily on folding trunks; operative equipment; first aid equipment; military-medical laboratories; military-pharmaceutical production facilities; shower and disinfection facilities; sterilization and distillation systems; respirators and inhalators; diagnostic equipment, surgical instruments and sterilization equipment.

In addition, the workshops do special tests and checks to guarantee technical safety and perform work to maintain this military-medical technology in good working order.

Since the two workshop sections are capable of operating independently, they may be used separately; but optimal performance is obtained by having them operate in tandem. One of the workshop sections is displayed in Illustration 5.



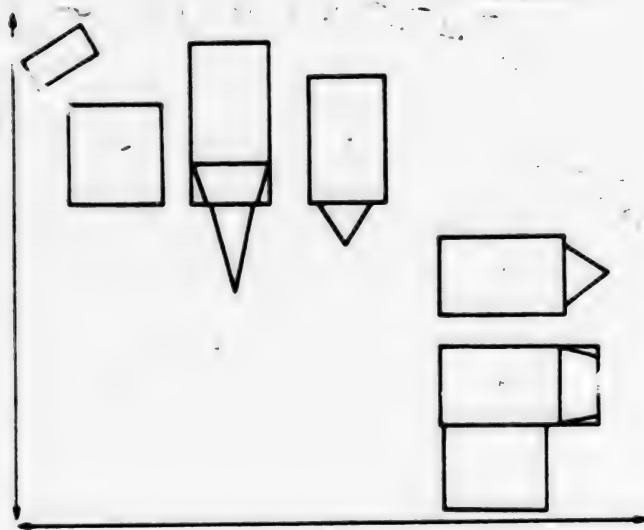
#### 4. Use and Storage

Specialized university and vocational school graduates as well as top maintenance mechanics are needed to staff the medical technology workshops and perform the required maintenance work on the military-medical technology. For this reason, only appropriately trained and authorized personnel are permitted to operate and maintain the workshop equipment.

The workshops can be readied for use in any level terrain. Illustration 6 provides a schematic diagram of how this can be done to advantage. It will take the crew about 25 minutes to deploy all five workplaces contained in each workshop section ready for use. If the attached tent and the crane are not included, the work can be done in 10 minutes.

The sound construction of the IAK and the practice of packaging spare parts permits long-term storage of the workshops under storage condition 2 or short-term storage of up to 12 months under storage condition 3. Conservation procedures preparatory to storage will primarily include static dehumidification and volatile inhibitors. Whenever the workshop is placed in use and whenever maintenance work is performed prior to or following each period of storage, all machinery and equipment should be checked out for operational readiness and functional safety.

Operation, maintenance and preservation of the vehicle, trunk and trailer are performed in pursuance to NVA transportation service regulations. Strict adherence to all pertinent safety and operational rules are an indispensable precondition for guaranteeing the operational readiness of the workshop as the functional reliability of the military-medical technology on which maintenance work was done. All the pertinent data are contained in a technical information sheet kept in each workshop section.



**Abbildung 6**

**Schema der Entfaltung der WMT.**

1 – Unterstand für Werkstattbesatzung, 2 – Werkstattwagen des Werkstattabschnitts II mit montiertem Kranausleger, 3 – freistehendes Anbauzelt des Werkstattabschnitts II, 4 – Ersatzteillager des Werkstattabschnitts II, 5 – Ersatzteillager des Werkstattabschnitts I, 6 – Werkstattwagen des Werkstattabschnitts I, 7 – am Werkstattwagen angebautes Anbauzelt des Werkstattabschnitts I, 8 – Freifläche für Instandsetzung von Technik.

## 5. Concluding Remarks

The medical technology workshop provides the medical service of the NVA with a modern mobile maintenance facility. Its performance capability meets the present and future demands placed on the repair and maintenance needs of medical units and facilities in combat. Operated by qualified, trained maintenance personnel, it provides for organizational repair of military-medical technology of field medical equipment.

But functional safety and reliability of field medical equipment as well as the incidence of breakdowns are directly tied to proper operation and maintenance under all operational conditions. In military-medical technology as anywhere else, therefore, the principle applies that all operators and maintenance crews must be familiar with the equipment entrusted to them to the point of perfection.

In addition to creating the necessary conditions for organizational repair, fulfilling this particular requirement is one of the major tasks designed to improve the operational readiness of the NVA medical service even further.

## PHOTO CAPTIONS

1. Section of medical technology workshop getting ready to move.
2. Interior view of electrical/electronic workshop vehicle.
3. Interior view of mechanical workshop vehicle.
4. Display of spare parts compartment of a workshop section.
5. Workshop section, ready for use.
6. Schematic diagram of medical technology workshop deployment.

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9478

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STRUCTURE, DEPLOYMENT OF PARATROOP FORCES DETAILED

Bonn TRUPPENPRAXIS in German Vol 27 No 7, Jul 83 pp 515-520

[Article by Capt Reinhold Neuer: "Paratroops of the National People's Army; Specialists for Combat Behind Enemy Lines"]

[Text] In the following article the author presents an allround trained and employable multi-purpose force: the paratroopers of the National People's Army--an elite force. He describes its selection procedures, training, weapons and equipment as well as uniform practices. In conclusion, he discusses possible employment forms and objectives.

Preamble: The National People's Army has no actual airborne force as such. At the present time only an independent battalion-strength paratrooper unit is known to exist. The model for these National People's Army paratroopers are the "Rejdoviki," the Soviet special-purpose paratrooper units which are intended to be used for commando operations and for subversion and long-range reconnaissance missions, and which exist parallel to the normal paratroop formations (Desantniki), integrated<sup>1</sup> in airborne divisions and brigades and intended for compact employment.

National People's Army Paratroop Battalion 40 "Willi Saenger"

The Battalion

The Paratroop Battalion 40--it formerly had the number 5--was organized in 1962 and was presented to the public for the first time on the occasion of the 1964 May Day parade in East Berlin.<sup>2</sup> As has been done by many troop units of the National People's Army, the Paratroop Battalion 40 also keeps up the memory of its merited leaders and fighters of the German and international revolutionary and armed struggle (East German terminology) with its tradition-based names and through its name keeps up the memory of the anti-national socialist resistance fighter and workers' sports devotee Willi Saenger.

The Battalion is stationed in Prora on the Baltic island of Ruegen. It has a complement of approximately 400 to 500 men.<sup>3</sup>

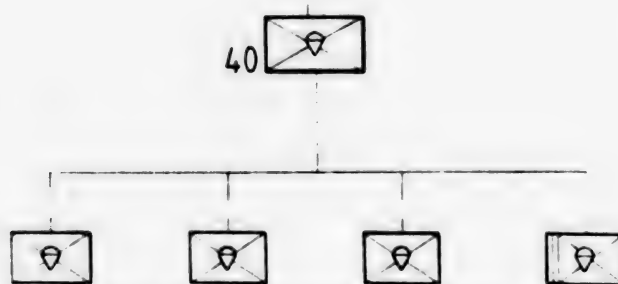


Abb. 1: Gliederung des Fallschirmjägerbataillon 40 „Willi Säger“. - Quelle: Armenytt, Stockholm, Nr 2/1979

Fig. 1: Structure of Paratroop Battalion 40 "Willi Saenger." Source: Armenytt, Stockholm, No. 2/1979

The Battalion is not placed under any major National People's Army formation, but is commanded directly by the ground forces command or by the Ministry for National Defense.

#### The Paratroopers

The paratroop units have no cause to complain about any lack of applicants. It appears that the elite status which the military leadership openly propagates as well as their prominence made visible through their uniform--only a paratrooper wears a beret in the National People's Army--exert particular attraction.

For these reasons the selection procedures are very severe and only applicants with certain prerequisite qualifications have any chance at all of being admitted to these troop units. The following basic prerequisites are necessary:

--Completion of the tenth grade of the general education-providing polytechnical advanced school (corresponding approximately to secondary-school graduation in the states of the Federal Republic);

--the making of at least twelve parachute jumps in the Society for Sport and Technology before the time of induction, and

--proof of physical performance capability in the form of having passed the expanded "Eight-Event Test."<sup>4</sup>

Since service in special units of the National People's Army requires a long-term service commitment, the service period of a paratrooper is generally at least 3 years. The National People's Army has no use for one-sided paratroopers who are not qualified in any other respect. Intelligence, strength, staying power and dependability, as well as useful social work for the welfare of the GDR are required.<sup>5</sup>

The paratroops are a branch of the ground forces. Their military-arm color is orange. The paratroopers have special collar patches on their uniforms, namely a white parachute on an orange-colored field. On their heads they wear a deep-red beret which was adopted in imitation of the red berets of the Polish airborne troops. As part of the combat uniform, however, a grey-brown beret is used. After having made five military parachute jumps, some of which are carried out while wearing their entire gear, the paratroopers are awarded the parachute jump insignia of the National People's Army. It is made of metal and consists of a series of various tags which show the number of jumps, and it is worn over the right-hand breast pocket of the uniform jacket. (Fig. 2).



Abb. 2: Fallschirmsprungabzeichen der Nationalen Volksarmee

Fig. 2: "Parachute Jump Insignia of the National People's Army"

### Training

The paratroopers of the National People's Army have since their creation in the beginning of the 1960's been intended for special types of employment.

"The training of the paratroop forces of the National People's Army takes place exclusively in accordance with the requirements of commando operations, i.e., in accordance with somewhat of the same principles as those involved in the training of the Rangers and special forces of the U.S. Army or the so-called hand-to-hand combat training of the Bundeswehr. As rigorous as possible physical combat and weapons drills to the point of complete exhaustion and the most rigorous kind of athletic training are the most prominent characteristics of the service of paratroopers in the National People's Army. According to a statement made by SOLDAT UND TECHNIK made as early as in 1968, however, there is at the same time instilled in them a marked consciousness of belonging to the elite and a marked pride in their arms branch, in order to attain a maximum measure of politico-moral inner feeling."<sup>6</sup>

The VOLKSARMEE made the following statement on the subject of training:

"They begin their way into combat by hanging on a parachute. If they are discovered, then there remains for their actions in the rear of the enemy only man-to-man combat. For this they practice Judo, among other things. And, again for the sake of their training, they take up rock climbing as teams using ropes. These are three sports disciplines which call on everything a man can muster....And because their training has so much to do with sports, they utilize their performance-stimulating competitive atmosphere. Over a distance of 6 kilometers with a difference in altitude of 310 meters, a rather dangerous course has to be run. On such an occasion, the paratroopers must rope down to a depth of 40 meters, must climb up a 20-meter wall of rock, must rope down again a 30-meter rope, must then climb up through a 20-meter long chimney, and must then once again slide down a 50-meter deep precipitous wall on a rope."<sup>7</sup>

Lt Col Neis of the National People's Army describes the missions to be carried out by the paratroopers as follows:

"What combat tasks may be assigned to paratroopers? They are employed in varying strength groups in places where the enemy does not suspect them to be. Due to modern reconnaissance gear, paratrooper landings rarely occur unnoticed, but they do get at the enemy so quickly that he is in most cases in no position to carry out effective countermeasures. Either they jump in stabilized drops from high altitudes to close to the immediate ground level, or from low altitudes with immediate opening of the parachute. Landing takes place either in the immediate vicinity of the enemy, in which case one goes over to the attack immediately after landing, or outside of enemy security zones, so that it is difficult for the enemy to determine which target the paratroopers are going to attack.

Paratroopers are employed mostly in order to eliminate nuclear weapons carriers or enemy command organs, to prevent the bringing up of supplies for the enemy forces, or to occupy important objects until their own forces have arrived and thus to save the lives of thousands of their comrades. This means that every paratrooper must contribute to the success of the combat mission through a high measure of knowledge, ability, skill and perseverance. Each and every one of them must be an able individual performer who harmoniously fits himself into the collective."<sup>8</sup>

The training of the paratroopers of the National People's Army is therefore tailored quite particularly for employment in the enemy's rear area and consists of a very comprehensive, many-sided and intensive training program. It is intended to produce a brave, strong, persevering and decisive fighter, and becoming a fully trained paratrooper requires a two-year course of special training after a 3-month course of basic training."<sup>9</sup>

Among others, the contents of this special training include the following subjects:

- daytime and night-time combat training (Fig. 3),
- day-time and night-time parachute jumping duty even under the most difficult terrain and weather conditions,
- handling of sapper-type explosive and incendiary means, including acquisition of an explosive-handling permit (Fig. 4),
- mountain climbing, skiing, swimming and diving (Fig. 5 and 6),
- military physical training with 15-km runs and interval training,
- forced marches while wearing protective masks and 100-km marches with a complete set of equipment,
- close-combat training with passing the judo test for the Yellow Belt (V. Kyu) being the minimum requirement. Additionally, karate is practiced,
- radiotelegraphy training,
- marksmanship training,
- survival training with subsistence from nature-provided edibles (frogs and hedgehogs, among others), and
- foreign languages.

Preparation of possible employment against the NATO forces also involves for the paratroopers of the National People's Army training in complete camouflage, i.e., in the uniform of the possible enemy. "The 5th (today the 40th) paratroop battalion of the National People's Army in Prora on the island of Ruegen--an elite force--trains its soldiers to combat swimmers, parachutists and hand-to-hand combatants for employment in war operations far behind the front. They learn to fight in civilian clothing or in the uniforms of the "enemy," occasionally practice in accordance with Bundeswehr service regulations and--as is the case with Soviet "enemy reconnaissance" personnel--they have been given the task to operate in "enemy territory" already prior to the beginning of a warlike involvement.<sup>10</sup>

Climactic points of this special training are the summer and winter encampments, participation in troop exercises of the joint military forces of the Warsaw Pact, and the honor parades on Marx-Engels Square in East Berlin, which are often led by Paratroop Battalion 40 (Fig. 7).

The training of the noncommissioned officers for the battalion--as in the case of all noncommissioned officer candidates of the National People's Army--takes place during the first 6 months of their service period at a noncommissioned officer school for the career category "Noncommissioned Officers for Motorized Infantry Units," after which they perform their duties in their unit for the first time.



The paratroop officers receive prior to their assignment to Paratroop Battalion 40 their normal officer training in the "Commanders of Motorized Infantry Units" section of the "Ernst Thaelmann" Officer Academy for the ground forces in Loebau/Zittau and then they get their additional special training at Prora.

#### Weapons and Equipment

Since they are primarily a special force intended for commando operations, the paratroopers of the National People's Army mainly have light infantry and antitank small arms. Beyond this, the heavy company of Paratroop Battalion 40 also has some 82 mm grenade launchers. It may be considered to be a special characteristic of this force that paratroopers trained as combat divers are integrated organically in the Battalion (Fig. 8).

The personal gear of every paratrooper includes the following items:

- \* A Parachute RS-4/3, a steerable, round-domed parachute having a size of 74 m<sup>2</sup>. This type of parachute makes possible jumps from low altitudes while opening automatically, as well as "stabilized" drops from high altitudes with delayed opening of the parachute. In this connection a stabilizer approximately 3 m<sup>2</sup> in size, which acts like an auxiliary parachute, provides for a stable position of the paratrooper during the free fall until the main parachute is opened manually at a previously determined jumping altitude. The phased parachute-opening technique, which is used only in the Warsaw Pact forces, makes it possible to airdrop paratroopers at high flying speeds (up to 400 km/hr) and in situations of greater density.

The force has in the meantime also acquired some high-performance parachutes of the Type RL-10 (so-called mattresses). These gliding parachutes make it possible for task forces being airdropped from high altitudes and at a great distance from their deployment area to fly, to a considerable degree unnoticed, some twenty to thirty kilometers into the enemy zone and there to carry out their mission after having landed.

Each jumping parachute also has a reserve parachute. All parachute types have been developed in the GDR and are produced at the Seifhennersdorf parachute factory. Every paratrooper of the National People's Army must pack his parachute personally. (Fig. 9)

- \* A paratrooper's field pack: In it the personal and additional military gear of a soldier is brought along. It resembles the jumping gear receptacles of the paratroopers of the Bundeswehr and is carried on the backside of one's body, under one's seat.

- \* A weapon: Mostly an AK-47 (Kalashnikov) with a hinged shoulder stock.

- \* A diving helmet: This is a helmet of green plastic, over which a camouflage net is drawn when engaged in operations.

For making the paratroopers mobile, 0.7 ton Type P-3 trucks are used as command and communications vehicles as well as the 2-ton "Robur" trucks as group-carrying and towing vehicles.

#### Air Transport Capacity of the Air Forces of the National People's Army

For all practical purpose, the air forces have at their disposal no aerial transport space of their own which would make possible any compact airdrops of large paratroop units. In their training activities, the paratroopers jump from the available small tactical transport airplanes of the AN-2 (COLT) and AN-14 (CLOD) types, which accommodate approximately 10 to 14 or nine men, respectively. In cases of more extensive operations, the Soviet air force must help out. In this connection, parachute jumping duties from Soviet airplanes are performed regularly for training purposes, which duties on each occasion represent for the paratroopers of the National People's Army special projects for which some of them undergo training for days and weeks because they must first familiarize themselves with the unfamiliar transport airplanes and the loading and airdrop techniques and the organization of the Soviet transport aircraft formations. (Fig. 10 and 11).

"When Rolf Kasper sat in the AN-8 for the first time, he could not rid himself of an oppressive feeling up until the time of the jump.... Whereas there hardly was room for ten paratroopers in the AN-2, there were now a much larger number of soldiers on this airplane. Added to this was the high rate of speed and the jump from the rear down. All of this was something different, new and unknown. When he made his second jump from an AN-8, he still had not overcome these inhibitory feelings, but at least he knew how everything went. The readiness to help and the cordiality of the Soviet comrades were a great help."<sup>11</sup>

#### Operations in Which the Paratroopers of the National People's Army Have Participated To Date

The paratroopers of the National People's Army have thus far participated only occasionally within the tactical-operational framework of the multinational Warsaw Pact exercises. For instance, an evaluation of the open sources shows their first employment during the "Quartett" maneuvers in the GDR in September 1963.<sup>12</sup> They were again employed on the occasion of a naval landing operation in the large-scale "Comradeship-in-Arms 1970" exercise. On that occasion they parachuted for purposes of screening off a beachhead at the Pommeranian coast and then occupied a harbor in cooperation with naval infantry forces.

It is not entirely clear whether the maneuvers carried out in southern Hungary in the period from 12 to 18 March 1974, which were enveloped in strictest secrecy, were an actual troop exercise or whether possibly a veiled deployment against Yugoslavia was thereby rehearsed. In addition to the forces brought together at that time, it was established that there was also the Paratroop Battalion 40 in addition to two Soviet airborne brigades, one Czechoslovakian paratroop regiment and parts of the Polish Sixth Airborne Division.<sup>13</sup>

The majority of the cases of employment of the paratroopers of the National People's Army was probably in the area of activities for which they are primarily trained and intended: Sabotage, guerilla warfare, and surprise raids. This type of employment is being practiced by the special-purpose paratroop units, but it is reflected only minimally or not at all in the official maneuver reports.

#### Possible Employment Forms and Targets

According to the late well-known Austrian military expert, Dr Friedrich Wiener, the special-purpose paratroop forces of the Warsaw Pact, including the paratroopers of the National People's Army must, in addition to their customary combat and employment tactics, carry out the following tasks:

- Commando operations against military installations, dressed in uniforms of the NATO troops,
- direction and support of already existing underground forces and gangs,
- abduction of personalities in the political, economic and military spheres,
- occupation of important terrain points such as, for instance, river crossings, through surprise raids,
- systematic creation of chaotic conditions and panic in the NATO rear areas through, for instance, diverting vehicle columns (camouflaged as allied military police) or through surprise attacks and provocations (example: East German paratroopers dressed as Bundeswehr soldiers open surprise fire against American soldiers; or: disguised border troops use brutal armed force against demonstrators).<sup>14</sup>

Leading western military circles worriedly note the expansion of such special units--especially of the Russian Rejdoviki--to the magnitude of three to four regiments, as is apparent from a report in DIE WELT, as follows:

"At all large-scale Warsaw Pact Maneuvers the Soviet army appeared with a new operational vanguard. It ranks even ahead of the assault regiments of the airborne divisions likewise only recently put into service. Even the official military photographers may not take any pictures of this secret force.."

The following additional statements are made concerning the subject of employment forms used:

"In the course of their exercises, the Rejdoviki move into such large cities as Minsk and Kiev, and initially entrench themselves in the suburbs, particularly in partially completed apartment houses. They then gradually move into the inner city. The city is not taken by assault. The general attack takes place in slices. Suddenly a strategically placed block of residential flats is occupied, then the attackers appear in the ministries without a shot

having been fired. In accordance with the "tread softly" principle, an entire big-city area is occupied.... The commandos make possible the surprise coup in the rear of the enemy. The operational corridors are established by the airborne storm brigades. Both forces are expected to be able to outmaneuver a NATO alarm. They are intended to be at strategic points already at the time when the first alarm is sounded."<sup>15</sup>

One may proceed from the premise that the paratroopers of the National People's Army will operate similarly when employed for subversive operations, particularly since the Warsaw Pact concept of offense provides for surprise employment of airborne forces.

Beyond this, there is an additional employment possibility: The publication of a study prepared by Czechoslovakian Maj General Jan Sejna, who fled to the West in 1968, gives details for a planned assault-type occupation of West Europe by Warsaw Pact forces (Operational Study DUNAJ). According to this study, the paratroopers of the National People's Army are assigned targets of high strategic importance in the Federal Republic of Germany, which they are to seize at the beginning of the assault operations after having reached their operational areas by parachuting into them.

An assessment of the Warsaw Pact maneuvers preponderantly in the northern part of the GDR and in Poland ("Oder-Neisse 69" and "Comradeship-in-Arms 70") makes it possible to discern a clear targeting of possible attack objectives in the NATO area: the opening up of the exits from the Baltic Sea.

#### Assessment

The paratroopers of the National People's Army may be considered to be an allround trained and employable multi-purpose force. The Bundeswehr has no corresponding forces if one does not take into account the long-range reconnaissance companies and the combat swimmer company, which have entirely different employment principles.

They are most easily compared with the parachute troops of the French Foreign Legion, the commandos of the American Special Forces and Rangers, or the members of the British SAS regiments.

They are ready for the most diverse employment possibilities and in connection therewith will not flinch from misuse of uniforms in violation of international law.

By having them, the National People's Army has an efficient elite force.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The term "Rejdoviki" has been taken over from the English word "raid" and refers to those soldiers who are intended and trained for commando operations. The term "Desantniki" probably stems from the French word "descendre" and thus refers to soldiers trained for conventional airborne operations.



2. Compare Jeschonnek, Friedrich: "The Comrades With the Grey Beret," in INFORMATION FUER DIE TRUPPE [Information for the Field Forces], Bonn, No. 8/1973, P. 27.
3. Arménytt, Stockholm, No. 2/1979, P. 15.
4. 1. Push-ups (20 times), 2. 100 meter dash (14.6 seconds), 3. climbing (up a 5-meter rope in 19 seconds), 4. Triple jump. 5. Pull-ups (8 times), 6. 3,000 meter run (13.20 minutes), 7. Hand grenade throwing (32 meters), 8. Negotiating the 400-meter assault course (2.40 minutes).
5. Compare Neis, Gottfried: "Paratroopers of the National People's Army" in FLIEGERKALENDER DER DDR [GDR Airmen's Calendar], East Berlin 1975, P. 41.
6. SOLDAT UND TECHNIK [Soldier and Technology], Frankfurt/Main, No. 9/1968, P. 512.
7. VOLKSARMEE [People's Army], East Berlin, No. 43/1980, P. 16.
8. Neis, Gottfried, loc, cit. P. 47.
9. Compare Jeschonnek, Friedrich, loc. cit. P. 29.
10. DIE WELT, Hamburg edition of 7 March 1972, P. 7, "Friends of Peace, Agents and Saboteurs in a Web of Silence.
11. Kaiser, Karl Heinz: "Paschol Jump!" in FLIEGERKALENDER DER DDR, East Berlin 1974, pp 38.
12. Compare Forster, Thomas M. "The National People's Army--The Nucleus of GDR National Defense," 4th edition, Cologne 1972, p. 109.
13. Compare Union of Swiss Intelligence Officers; War Concepts. Airborne Operations, Zuerich 1977/78, S.K. 59 ff.
14. Wiener, Friedrich: "The Armies of the Warsaw Pact States," 7th edition, Munich 1979, P. 153.
15. DIE WELT, Essen edition of 3 January 1980, P. 5: "Moscow's Elite Soldiers Are Coming As Train Engineers and Sailors."

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## PLANS FOR INCOME TAX REFORM INITIATED

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 5 Jul 83 p 7

[Article by Maria Lakatos: "Awaiting Tax Reform"]

[Text] "It is too early to talk about that," said Dr Miklos Karolyi, chief of the populace group of the Ministry of Financial Affairs, when I asked him on the telephone about the reform of populace taxes being prepared. It is true that the work is at the very beginning. In the wake of the Economic Committee resolution on modernization of income taxation for the populace the responsible ministry is now preparing its proposals. The new tax system will be worked out jointly in the second half of the year in the crossfire of debates.

Still, it is worth becoming acquainted, if only in fragments, with the opinions of a few of those responsible who see what the problems are in the present taxation system and where they are going--the questions involved affect more and more people.

### On the Basis of Correct Principles

Dr Miklos Karolyi finally toed the line by emphasizing that he was talking only about principles, about proposals which would be made, which is not the same as a solution. Our conversation began with an outline of the present tax system. The "formula" is simple to begin with. In principle three types of income tax are used today. The so-called general income tax includes private artisans and retail merchants, economic work communities, civil and legal associations, members of special groups, etc. Intellectual activity is taxed separately. The third type of tax applies to household plot and auxiliary farms. These three groups are distinguished from one another by the purpose for which or in what branch people are active. The tax key does not change according to this classification but rather as a function of how the utility of the activity was judged 10 years ago, whether it was given preference or not, and the tax can be modified according to whether the customer is a private person or a community. They now maintain 18 types of tax keys.

"If we add to this," the leader of the populace group smiles, "that there are not three but rather four types of income tax then the system can be judged to be complex. The fourth type of tax is a contribution only in name. The pension

contribution actually functions as a tax and pensioners pay it too--if they work somewhere. The present system is not only complex but also lags behind the ten year changes in domestic price and value relationships. What was then counted as luxury income is less so today. So it appears useful to review the value limits and the tax keys.

"Just as many problems are caused by the fact that there are as many types of taxation as there are activities. Our proposals will include a simplification; indeed, according to the plans we will combine taxes paid for so-called general work and for intellectual work. People in these categories will pay taxes in the same way. The basic principle of bearing a proportional public burden will remain unchanged, but we do not want to make a distinction between activities according to whom they are performed for, whether repair or production or preferred or not. Everything for which there is a demand is important. Anyway, in a few cases such distinctions moderate the tax base. Today the tax is less on 50 forints twice than it is on 100 forints once.... Naturally the new tax system will not mean that more must be paid in, but taxes may increase for a few private persons conducting multiple activities. For the majority, however, there will be a uniform tax on the basis of total income deriving from various activities.

"Private artisans are still the most significant stratum in the sphere of those paying the general income tax. We asked their interest representation organ, the economic department of the KIOSZ [National Organization of Artisans], what changes it recommended in talks preceding the tax reform."

Dr Gyorgy Filep, main department chief, said: "In addition to its complexity, the problem with the present tax system is that the tax keys do not increase evenly but rather follow one another by irrational jumps. The tax key is too high. It is already around 85 percent for an annual income of 200,000 forints, at the upper limit. It is not worth working above this..."

The Interest Is Removed

"So the KIOSZ is acting primarily to moderate the tax?"

"Yes, and another thing. We are recommending that the magnitude of the withholding be reduced so that the artisans will not be made uninterested in work. This goal would be served if the maximal tax key went into effect above 200,000 forints and if it were lower than the earlier 85 percent. Our other proposals are at least as important. Today, in the case of state enterprises, no one disputes it if profit is higher one year and lower another, or if they close with a deficit. But if an artisan produces much in one year and pays the tax on this basis then it is presumed that in the following year his production will be even higher, and the tax too! And the screw tightens year by year. But in the present economic situation even a successful artisan finds it difficult to achieve an evenly increasing profit. I do not consider it suitable that in the present system the artisans are taxed for stockpiles. It is a condition for normal management that there should be materials and goods in the warehouse and they should be taxed only for the income arising after their use. We are also recommending that the present concession system should be simplified and that they broaden the sphere of taxpayers in the lump sum category. If all this is to be accomplished we must certainly expand the authority of the local councils."

"This sounds rather surprising coming from you, as very many artisans complain because sometimes the councils increase their taxes on the basis of subsequent estimates."

"Look, rights can be used and abused. But this is a matter for the legal redress of taxation. It is the task of interest protection to represent more vigorously than at present the interests of the artisans. Although there have been unfounded estimates I still believe that an expansion of the sphere of authority of the councils will serve the artisans and ultimately the level of services to the populace. In any case, we would like to see to it that if annual income should increase by a few thousand or ten thousand forints it should not inconvenience the artisans. The tax returns should be reviewed only if some abuse is discovered. But the tax should not be a form of punishment. At the same time, it would be useful to punish manipulations more severely than at present."

#### How To Calculate It!

In the course of our conversation we wandered a bit from taxation. In the opinion of the main department chief the future of private industry and private trade will be determined not only by the magnitude but also by the method of income withholding. Much depends on other conditions also. For example, it would be useful if artisans could get credit from the bank more simply in cases where the customer, the state enterprise, is insolvent and cannot pay. An artisan with little capital cannot ride out standing in line at the bank for months. Unfortunately there is no bank mechanism for the artisans suitable for a solution of the problems. The ever more frequent payment problems are holding back the spread of cooperation between enterprises and artisans.

After questioning the responsible officials we questioned those interested also. One representative of the furrier trade, which counts as a luxury industry, was amazed when I asked about changes in the tax system.

"It would be good," he said. "I spend several hours a week on bookkeeping. I have been on my own for 3 years but I still sweat to calculate the turnover tax on repairs and the income tax depending on whether the customer brought the material or not. I am a furrier not a bookkeeper. In my opinion the correct way to set a tax is for we artisans to determine it, knowing the course of business. But in practice it is not good. It is in vain for the social committee to set the tax if the representative of the council says something different and no one can contradict him. I was a member of such a committee for a year, a few times I spoke up, since then they do not invite me. This year, despite the declaration, the council set a tax higher by 40 percent. But how they calculated this I do not know."

The situation is more or less this way among the entrepreneurs. Administration takes a lot of time and they navigate among the decrees very painfully. It is not by chance that the economic work groups giving expert advice on undertakings are making the most today....

# IDEOLOGICAL TASKS IN WAKE OF APRIL PARTY PLENUM EXAMINED

Debrecen ALFOLD in Hungarian Jul 83 pp 92-96

[Article by Laszlo Onosi: "After the Ideological Conference"]

[Text] Much interest has preceded the national canvassing, propaganda and educational policy conference held on 11-12 January. This high level of attention proved that holding this national ideological conference, new in its character, contents and spirit of debate, was necessary. The conference's goal was defined by the introduction offered by Gyorgy Aczel: "Our main goal is to bring greater movement and liveliness into our ideological activity, to make life more active here, and to move out of that hesitating and uncertain situation the characteristics of which we meet quite often; to encourage ourselves for more courageous, initiative and open stand, eliminating that withdrawing and often defensive behavior which can be seen in some places."

The conference directed attention to some timely questions of propaganda and education, indicated and brought up the issue that "...canvassing, propaganda and mass communication often respond belatedly or unclearly to the increasing difficulties, the provocations of the era--to which society responds more and more actively and with greater initiative." It brought up openly the issue that in our intellectual life "...there are also many phenomena with which we cannot make peace." It was emphasized here also that in our era there is a much quicker and direct interrelation between the economic and ideological, economic and social, production and education, foreign policy and domestic policy, etc. questions. The debate also identified those new questions which encourage further thinking.

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The national ideological conference was followed with lively interest also in Hajdu-Bihar megye. The unanimous opinion is that organizing the conference was timely because the people are occupied with a series of exciting ideological and educational policy questions. Many people said that they expected more from the conference in some respects. Among other things they expected to receive a more definite and clearer direction about the formats in which Marxism-Leninism can nowadays be applied in a constructive manner, about the interpretation of socialism's modifications, about the concrete tasks of shaping the conscious, about the interest relationships, about the ideological



aspects of the economic policy processes, etc. Many criticized that some who spoke up did not receive the appropriate Marxist answer, and the excessive brave ideas which break away from the realities were not sufficiently criticized. Even though these followed naturally from the openness of the conference and from its honest atmosphere, in the opinion of many these made the debate somewhat uncontained. But overall the conference provided favorable impulses for the upswing of the ideological life.

One of the stations of thinking together was the 31 March 1983 session of the megye's party committee where that body reviewed our megye's ideological life in the reflection of the national conference. Naturally, in its main characteristics the megye's ideological condition is similar to that which the Budapest conference outlined about the country as a whole. The positive tendencies, the socialist characteristics are definitive in public thinking and in the megye's cultural and ideological growth. The political sensitivity and public life activity of the party's membership and of the population increased. The more open atmosphere had a favorable effect on shaping public thinking. It is proven day after day that the megye's population has grown up to the tasks, understands the problems, but by all means expects honest talk and concrete answers to questions. More and more people see in unison the economic, political, cultural and ideological tasks. But those contradictions and tensions which reflect on the economic and political atmosphere and public morals, are also letting their effects be felt in the megye. The opinions are becoming more polarized, debates are livelier, and the views foreign and contrary to our socialist ideals and the phenomena incompatible with our principles and value system are also present. In the present more complicated and more contradictory situation the unsolved problems and weaknesses of the work are more visible.

The desire for peace is general, and so is the recognition that there is no other reasonable alternative to continuing our socialist foreign policy, the relieving of tensions. The universal recognition is that the basis for individual success is to implement our social and national goals. Today the overwhelming majority identifies itself with the socialist society and with the results achieved in building socialism. This can also be used to explain why the concern related to the spreading of views and forms of behavior foreign to our ideals has increased. The criticism of shortcomings has become stronger, and the negative phenomena are more conspicuous and more obvious today.

An important positive aspect of communal thinking in the megye is that the overwhelming majority of the workers see clearly: our country's future, the future course of our national growth depends primarily on whether we can solve our economic tasks, and whether we can reach the two main goals defined at the 12th congress: to reestablish the national economy's equilibrium and preserve the standard of living. We can feel it in all areas of society's life that emphasis is being placed on our economic tasks. It can be felt accurately in the manifestations of public opinion. People follow with great attention the economic policy efforts. The need for innovation and renewal encompasses the entire society, but the ability for this is still not sufficiently universal. There is also complete agreement with the efforts aimed at increasing the quality requirements. All this is coupled with critical sensitivity and with concern over the possible sharpening of controversies.

Speaking about the country's economic situation, the opinion of the megye's workers simultaneously includes faith in the future, protective concern for the results, and worry about the increase of difficulties. They understand our internal contradictions and economic problems, and express their appreciation the party's and the country's leadership have exerted to resolve or decrease the tensions. Acceptance of the specific measures is far from this unanimous; they especially question some of the price increases. At times the critical voice also becomes stronger, but this is free of extreme excesses.

The majority of the workers feel our difficulties, understand the national economy's situation and problems, and show greater tolerance than before towards accepting the measures which have become necessary--though undoubtedly these are not popular. But the series of price increases had a negative effect on the mood of the population. The demand is broad-based that the planned price modifications should be announced further in advance, because there is very large uncertainty now. An inherent lack of confidence has developed towards the prices of the free-priced products. The biggest problem is that there are innumerable rumors in circulation and even the party members have not been prepared to convincingly refute these. It honestly upsets our workers that even in this difficult situation those who mishandle money, the poorly managing or wasteful managers are not held responsible with sufficient sternness. They fault it that strong steps are taken only if obvious fraud is involved.

Many people feel uneasy watching the increasing differentiation of the living and working conditions. They are afraid that due to the relatively more limited financial resources some social strata or groups will find it significantly more difficult to satisfy realistic needs, while others accumulate incomes that are larger than usual and judged justified by public opinion, and the social differences thus generated will cause larger tensions than before. We hear critical comments about the larger incomes which can be earned by means of small and contractual enterprising, which some people also judge negatively from the viewpoint of the socialist way of life. Many bring up the question of how well will what we learned about property relationships so far, stand up after this? Creating a better fit between the small enterprises and socialism's picture so far in the public opinion, as well as clarifying a series of economic and economic policy, and ethical and ideological questions are urgent tasks. Recently the ideological problems related to the conditions of distribution have also gained attention. We must find answers to questions like these and similar ones: What is to be understood by equality? What does distribution according to work mean? Can performance and the wage for labor be brought into harmony in those areas where the quantity and quality of work cannot be measured or is difficult to measure? How does education become a financial factor? Can forms of incentives which encourage broader strata to increase their education, be developed at all in distribution and production? At the moment the price and wage measures, or the standard of living and living conditions which greatly depend on these, occupy people the most. Even though quite a few people think that our standard-of-living policy goals are untenable, the opinion of the great majority is that these ideas can also be realized through strict economic operation and more circumspect financial measures.

Workers, agricultural workers and intellectuals of the megye are increasingly demanding that the standards of socialist morals and way of living should spread even more and become stronger. The majority of the population considers work to be the most important value for society and for the individual. They are demanding a more definite position against apathy and against the abuse of positions, and are also demanding faster action against favoritism. The demand for faster and more decisive dealing with violators of the work discipline and against lack of discipline in general is broad based. Numerous examples prove that if people are not held responsible for their discovered failures, or if disciplining is too soft, it causes serious political and moral damage.

In recent years social democratism developed further and became richer in content and in form in our megye also. In spite of this we also meet ideological and practical problems which hinder the further growth of socialist democracy. The signs of formalism are gaining strength in some areas; bureaucratic phenomena are still frequent. There are occasions of abusing the law, but also of failure to take advantage of the opportunities provided by law. We frequently see that some people wish to decrease their own personal responsibilities and risk taking with the aid of the democratic forums. In quite a few areas the work of the trade unions and of the economic organs leaves much to be desired. They do not give enough assistance and guidance to the participants of forums, and in a number of cases they present already decided matters to them; the presented materials rarely contain clear tasks, and needs are defined only in general terms. The situation quite often develops in a way that whoever has the higher ranking position is right. Many people do not recognize the extremely great significance of winning the minds and hearts of the workers for solving our tasks, and that the controlling and helping presence of the collectives in managing the places of work can give all managers great security. Involving the masses in public affairs, social openness, realistic information, proper operation of the local control system, transferring the actual decision making authority, that is, the correct practice of socialist democracy increases the strength of public opinion. The democratic forums have an important role in uncovering the differing interests which exist in society, in coordinating these, and in implementing the community's basic interests. Rapid, cultured and humane handling of matters and providing services are often factors which shape the public's mood. Higher standards of information are indispensable as a condition for further improving democracy, and for improving the debating ability.

It is a favorable and definitive factor that the ideological effect of Marxism-Leninism has further increased. But clearheadedness has weakened in some places in this more complicated situation, and ideological trends deviating from Marxism-Leninism are also present in this country. For example, the negative effects hang on longer than desirable among university students and in literary life. All these things make it necessary for us to deal with the criticism of these views in a better planned way and with higher standards than before, and to take a more definite stand against them. It represents a serious problem that in our propaganda for a long time the so-called classical model of socialism dominated, which is ideal, free of problems, and can defend against everything. We see it now at every step that this picture



needs to be modified, but at the same time the social sciences process the changing world slowly and the processed results also become public treasure only slowly. All these things detract from the efficiency of our work of shaping the conscious, and at times also from its credibility. The recognition is sufficiently universal today, that our ideological-political educational work must take place in a differentiated manner. Shaping the views of youth also requires special methods. Youth's behavior and thinking occupy the public opinion. Our experience is that the decisive majority of the megye's youth do their work honorably and satisfy their educational obligations. But there is also no doubt that we still see more negative phenomena than desirable among youth, and certain negative forms of behavior have even become more frequent. Due in part to the difficulties of starting one's career and in part to the lack of political experience and the weaknesses of our political work among youth, the younger, "peace-worn" generations find it more difficult to understand the unfavorable changes of the international situation and the contradictions of socialism's domestic and international growth. This way they are easier influenced by idealistic views and confusing theories.

Development of the conditions of public education and the growth of educational and rearing work directly affect practically every family. The results of the work on content are among the leaders even in the whole country, but the subject conditions lag behind the national average even in spite of the intensive development. The need for content renewal is becoming increasingly general among educators. The demand is society-wide in the respect that the requirements should be raised but not quantitatively but by improving the quality of the teacher-education work. Our megye also anxiously looks forward to the approaching reform of higher education. The new admission system was used this year for the first time. It will hopefully pay more attention to the level of general education and it will also provide a way to determine suitability and commitment.

Balanced work is in progress at the megye's scientific research facilities. In some cases our difficulties also lead to the discovery of new hidden resources. But the researchers do not understand the unjustified confusion, the "firefighter" measures (for example, certain financial and organizational measures); they want their opinions also be asked before these are taken. Our megye's artistic life is characterized by being multifaceted. The regional organizations and groups of the creative workshops and artistic associations are working in a committed manner and with political responsibility, and have built up good social relationships. Traditionally the realistic trend dominates their creations, but besides this they are also open to all esthetic values and keep up with their contemporary arts. Of course, our megye is not free of the ideological uncertainties seen in artistic life either. This is present primarily in literature, and not so much at the local creative artists. The megye's public education continues to grow smoothly; the job's objective conditions improved also in recent years. The public educational institutions are doing their basic jobs on an outstanding level; even nationally noteworthy results have been produced. But we must grab the first opportunity that presents itself to further improve the objective conditions of our public educational institutions. That is, the Megye Library and

the KLTE's library [Lajos Kossuth University of Sciences], as well as the Megye Megye Depository of Letters are fighting severe placement and warehousing problems. The TIT [Society for the Propagation of Scientific Knowledge] organization in the megye also does not have appropriate space. There would be a need for a representative exhibit hall and for the renewal of the Bartok hall as soon as possible. The reform and expansion of the system of training and advanced training of public education professionals, first of all starting up a department for training university-level librarians, is a different type of need. There is growing concern among the workers of public education and artists, and in the broad circles of intellectuals in general, that the economic difficulties and the stagnation in the standard of living will turn a significant portion of the population away from culture, that is, the social prestige of education will decrease. They feel that raising the price of cultural services and passing it on to the population may cross the educational policy goals, lead to confusion in value orientation, and leave the interests of people with low incomes practically completely out of consideration. Dispelling these worries is not easy.

The canvassing and propaganda work are also taking their tests in these years. Now when the old problems are being reborn in a new situation or are being regenerated, we have to fight more for the people, for winning them over, and for their agreement. We see this in our megye also. Differentiated canvassing and propaganda are needed--we have to approach the different strata differently. We also cannot leave those indications out of consideration which appear to show that in recent times the prestige of political training and advanced training have decreased. At a time when trade training almost received favorite treatment and the principle of financial interest also prevails there, in political education we have been less able to create moral and political interest.

We think it is self-evident to everyone that nearly one-half year after the national ideological conference studying the rich theoretical material of the national forum is still a living and everyday task, in close relationship with creditable discovery of the realities and even more committed service of politics. Knowing about the MSZMP Central Committee's so-called "half-time" resolution of 12-13 April the tasks of canvassing, propaganda, education and artistic policy have become even more obvious. It is desirable that the professionals, educators, educational and artistic politicians, the creative workshops and the propagandists affected by it should treat the experiences and ideas of the conference together with the April resolution, and build them into their everyday work.

8584

CSO: 2500/359



PERFORMANCE OF CIVIL DEFENSE EXERCISES EVALUATED

Budapest POLGARI VEDELEM in Hungarian No 6, Jun 83 pp 7-9

[Article, no author given: "PVOP Leadership Conference"]

[Text] The PVOP [National Civil Defense Command] conference was held recently. Present were [among others] lieutenant general Jozsef Pacsek, the MN's [Hungarian People's Armed Forces] chief training inspector and deputy minister; Ferenc Sasvari, member of the MSZMP Central Committee's Public Administration and Administrative Department, and there were representatives from the concordant armed bodies, ministries and organizations of national authority.

Colonel Gyula Boross, secretary of the PVOP party committee opened the conference. In his opening remarks he said among other things:

"Dear Comrades! The purpose of our conference today is: to evaluate responsibly the work civil defense has done in the recent time period. Therefore the main task of today's conference is to analyze and qualify the level and situation of time-proportional fulfillment of the requirements defined in the POVOT pk's [Civil Defense National Staff Commander] directive. In the spirit of the MSZMP Central Committee's April session's resolution, based on the conference of the ministry's leadership, and taking into consideration our party committee's "half-time evaluation." We must examine the tasks of the plan period's second half, and the factors which affect their execution. Based on this overall picture we must specify and assign the tasks for civil defense for the remaining years of the plan period. This series of tasks underlines the significance of our conference today."

After the chairman's opener Brigadier-General Dr Mihaly Berki, Civil Defense's National staff commander gave his report to the conference. This is how he began his speech:

"Comrade Lieutenant General! Comrade Generals and Officers! Our Dear Guests! At its 12-13 April session the Central Committee reviewed the results of the work done in the interest of the goals specified by the 12th congress, evaluated and defined the conditions and directions of future work.

This was followed by the leadership conference conducted by the comrade defense minister on the 6th of May, where he summarized and evaluated the work the MN has done in the first half of the plan's time period, examined the most important circumstances affecting the second half of the plan's time period and based on all this he defined and specified the tasks before the MN.

As a result of this, the purpose of our conference is to:

--evaluate the time-proportional fulfillment of the tasks defined in the directive of the Civil Defense National Commander, and to draw the necessary conclusions, and also to specify our tasks for the remaining years of the plan's time period."

At the 6 May conference comrade minister said this about civil defense: "The civil defense activity grew in a planned way, organization of the work of battalions and special military companies improved, the activity of plant and work place organizations became more effective, cooperation with the regional organs improved. The increase in the contents and effectiveness of civil defense exercises is worthy of special recognition."

The appreciative words obligate the commanding as well as the subordinate staffs to perform the increased civil defense tasks according to the best of their abilities. It is our mandatory obligation to work with full commitment on making the defense of our population's life and property even more solid and reliable.

After this, brigadier-general Mihaly Berki described the international political and military-political situations, then this is how he continued his speech:

"Comrades! Evaluating the work done in the last two-and-a-half years we can conclude with good foundations that:

--well planned and balanced work was done in the area of civil defense in the first half of the plan's time period;

--we implemented the defined goals time-proportionately at a proper and good level;

--the military, special service, and self defense specialty formations of civil defense carried out their tasks successfully and for the most part by improving standards."

In the next part of his speech he emphasized that under the changed foreign and domestic circumstances which are less favorable to us, the significance of strengthening the political unity of the personnel staff, solidifying its moral and disciplinary situation and improving the quality of its political condition have increased even more.

However, we must also see certain political dangers and difficulties. International imperialism is conducting an organized ideological diversion against us. Its goal is to shake us in the realization of our political intentions and plans, to denigrate the ideals of socialism, to stoke the nationalistic feelings, to break the unity and weapon camaradery of the socialist countries, or the members of the Warsaw Pact. They are suggesting pacifism towards us in all kinds of ways, primarily for the purpose of relaxing by this also the relationship with military service, and to destroy our defense capability.

Therefore in the coming years we consider reinforcing the ideological-political educational work and increasing its efficiency to be our emphasized task.

The firm defense and spreading of our ideals, and exposing the hostile views and trends are a more important obligation than ever before of the commanders, political workers, and of the entire professional staff. They are to consistently stand up in favor of the party's policies, and make it clear to everyone what the party is endeavoring to do, what it approves and what it disapproves of.

The present situation requires us to strengthen our relationships with the population and within this primarily with the leadership and subordinate staffs of the special service units and self defense organizations.

After this the national staff commander evaluated the developed disciplinary situation about which he concluded that basically it is satisfactory and we can also build on it in the future. He then declared that in the present situation, however, we expect and demand even more that all staff categories carry out fully their tasks and service obligations.

Therefore the steadfastness, behavior and activity of the personnel must be further improved by additional definite measures and consistent control in spite of the past improvements, since the social echo of these is a question of political significance.

He then concluded that the majority of the officers, deputy officers and civilian employee staff of civil defense has been for a long time successfully filling their assignments, possessing good political, professional and leadership preparedness and ability, being circumspect and trying to do well-founded and successful work.

This is what he said about the situation of the work in the area of training and preparation: the training of the leaders and subordinate staffs of civil defense military battalions, the reserves and special services, as well as preparation of the population were done at proper levels at all staff categories.

The commanding staff of the special service and self defense organizations were prepared to handle their tasks in battalion training sessions, commander and battalion leadership exercises and within the framework of the practical training of the subordinate staff and subunit-level exercises. The

personnel's knowledge has grown, their experience increased, the standards of battalion work increased and the situation evaluation activity improved.

The level of preparation and experience of the special civil defense services and self defense organizations further increased.

The comprehensive civil defense exercises that were held in the megyes, jaras's and plants proved to be the most efficient form of training. Bekes megye's civil defense exercise triggered international and national praise. The exercises helped in the preparation of the national administrative and economic leaders as well as the various civil defense headquarters and battalions, and in the organization and conducting of rescue and relief work performed in damaged areas which develop as a consequence of using the traditional and mass destruction weapons. The exercises were also useful to the national economy and resulted in saving several million forints. As a result of the effectiveness of political work conducted in the civil defense organizations the participating staff carried out its tasks with political, moral and civil sense of duty and exemplary discipline valued highly also by the civil defense leaders of the socialist countries.

Civil defense propaganda proved to be a successful area of preparation and training. It exerted a positive effect on the overwhelming majority of the population and resulted in a significant change of attitude in carrying out the civil defense tasks; it keeps the population's interest at the proper level and informs them about the modern principles, methods and tools of defending the population. With this same thing we also contributed to the general national defense training of the population.

Besides the special propaganda which serves to prepare the population the general propaganda activity also received a significant role in our work. Even in the most remote communities of our country people know the location, role and tasks of civil defense, know the civil defense activity, and this is also effective help in the political work.

After analyzing the economic questions and the personnel, material and objective conditions, this is how Brigadier General Dr Mihaly Berki continued his speech:

"Based on the implementation of political and professional tasks our judgment is that the leadership of civil defense successfully directed the implementation of tasks derived from the Politbureau's resolution dealing with civil defense and from the national measures which followed this.

One-person leadership prevails in carrying out the main tasks decided at higher levels and in doing the daily work, and parallel with this the one-person responsibility has also further solidified. The characteristics of man-centered thinking appropriately prevail in the course of leadership activity.

Work place democracy continued to grow and strengthen at all levels. Forums provided by the party and job leadership ensure the necessary opportunities



for open and free exchange of opinions in questions which affect the job activity, living and working conditions. Work place democracy increased the strength of the sense of responsibility the staff of civil defense's military organs feel for the successful implementation of the civil defense tasks and through this for the realization of the national defense policy.

We must speak with appreciation about the work of the trade union working in the pv [civil defense] area. We keep record on 25 trade union groups. The SZB [Trade Union Committee] did successful work, for which I take this opportunity to express my appreciation and thanks.

The PVOP and the majority of the megye battalions developed good relationships with the appropriate party, state and council leaderships, the armed forces and bodies, as well as with the economic organs. Further efforts must be made to provide the pv's questions and tasks with appropriate forums before the leaders as well as before the everyday people.

Evaluating the work of the regional civil defense headquarters it can be concluded that the activity of the council leaders and professional administrative organs became better planned and organized in accordance with the requirements.

In general the civil defense authorities are appropriately implemented and a standardized system of regional and local civil defense leadership, conforming to the operational order of the council organs, has been developed at all levels (capital city, megye, city, capital city district, town).

The executive committees of the councils regularly deal with the situation of building up the civil defense of their areas, and with the tasks related to its further development. In addition to this the appropriate party committees also follow with attention the civil defense activities of the national administrative and plant organs in their areas.

In recent years we further developed and deepened the bi- and multi-lateral international relationships. Within the framework of this we received the Bulgarian, Czechoslovak, Rumanian, and Soviet civil defense delegations and the secretary general of the Finnish civil defense federation with his entourage. Hungarian civil defense delegations participated in negotiations in the Soviet Union, the Bulgarian People's Republic, in the CSSZSZK [Czechoslovak Socialist Republic], the Polish People's Republic, and in the German Democratic Republic [GDR], as well as in the Republic of Finland.

It is clearly obvious from the foregoing that the first half of the plan's time period posed a serious test of strength to the leadership as well as to the subordinate staff. The ministries, the civil defense organs of nationwide authority, the council organs, and civil defense's military battalions all share alike in the successful work.

I think I can declare without being overconfident that--as a result of our working together--we can look to the second half of the Sixth Five-Year Plan's time period with our heads raised high. The experienced gained during



the course of doing the work so far provide a good foundation for the successful implementation of the tasks which will surface in the coming time periods."

After the detailed evaluation of the work done so far the speaker among other things summarized the tasks of the future this way:

"Comrade Lieutenant General! Comrades! In the interest of successful implementation of the tasks defined for us in the directive and in the task plan we must continue with the implementation of the plan period's time--proportional tasks. Our basic goal is that civil defense should grow in accordance with the modern requirements and that its all-society character should continue to gain strength.

The following tasks are facing us in the next time period:

--As of 1 September 1983 we will change over to the September-to-June training year. The time until this September should be used to plan and organize the new training year as thoroughly as possible and to provide the necessary personnel and material conditions."

After this he analyzed in detail the preparatory tasks to be carried out in the various mergers, then emphasized: planning and organizing the training must be carried out with great circumspection and its practical execution must be implemented on a higher level with attention to the complicated circumstances. Training the leadership staff must in all cases precede training of the subordinate staff. The comprehensive civil defense exercises of plants--where this is justified and necessary--can also be held in the month of July and August. Inasmuch as possible the exercises must be planned and carried out in such a way as to couple them with work which is also useful to the national economy (construction, repairs, restoration, demolition).

Brigadier General Dr Mihaly Berki talked about the importance of propaganda work, the tasks of national defense education, equipment supply, the significance of scientific work and improvement of leadership styles. This is how he concluded his speech:

"With the work we did in the first half of the plan time period we have laid down the foundations for implementing the basic tasks defined in the directive for five years.

On behalf of civil defense's party and military leadership as well as on my own behalf I wish to thank the leaders of the civil defense organizations, and their entire personnel for carrying out the tasks defined for them and for their successful work.

I thank the military leadership of the Ministry of Defense and the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party] Committee on the People's Armed Forces for the effective help they constantly extend to us for our work. I want

to especially thank the leaders of the HM [Ministry of Defense] organs, and the armed forces and bodies for their cooperation exhibited during the course of our work. I thank the main department head comrades and their workers for the work they have done in the interest of civil defense.

I ask that they relay the appreciation and thanks of the civil defense leadership to the personnel of the organs and organizations under their supervision and to all those who contributed with their work to strengthening our country's civil defense. I wish you and the entire personnel successful plan activity."

The report was followed by comments, then the national conference was concluded with the closing words of the presiding Colonel Gyula Boross.

8584

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WORKERS ASSESS PRON APPEAL TO LIFT MARTIAL LAW

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 12 Jul 83 pp 1, 2

[Recorded by RZECZPOSPOLITA reporter Wieslawa Mazur]

[Text] The appeal to lift martial law, directed to the Sejm, the People's State Council, and the government by the Executive Committee of the National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Renewal, has become a common subject of conversation. A RZECZPOSPOLITA reporter has recorded the proceedings of a workers' discussion at the Mechanics Machine Tool Factory in Pruszkow.

Jerzy Wieclaw, foreman: Do you remember what was said a few months ago when we discussed the possibility of lifting martial law: It was said that it was not yet time, that perhaps a tentative suspension would be worthwhile. At that time women had the most apprehensions. Now my wife has said to me, "It is time for the nation to return to a normal life." She said that in an ordinary, calm fashion....

Janusz Kacprowicz, fitter: Remember that your wife trembled all over when there were street disturbances last year at the end of August. Things have changed since then. To those who would want a disturbance, the decided majority of the people say, "We want peace." This is the best dam that has been raised to stem the anarchy, and it is getting more and more solid.

Lidia Wisniewska, tool-room worker: One would like to forget sometimes what happened before and after that memorable 13 December, but all that is hard to erase from one's memory. Strike after strike, growing chaos and apprehension, and then a December night, shock, and appeals for calm, for not flying at each other's throats in our own home. A bad situation could not have ended better. That is my opinion.

Edward Paluchowski, technologist: A bad situation? But where did that bad situation begin? After all, the agreements signed in Gdansk were accepted by all. The Ninth Congress of the PZPR issued an appeal to the people calling on them to struggle against social decline, the debility of helplessness, conservative attitudes, and anarchy--against everything which disrupts and paralyzes

the economy and the state. The party congress declared itself for mutual understanding. But what did that matter when the opponent did not want mutual understanding. So it was necessary for us to undergo a wrenching experience. That is what was bad.

Lidia Wisniewska: Both now and before martial law was imposed the government has taken the position that the spirit of those accords is still binding. But not everything can be accomplished today or even tomorrow. Let us take housing, for example. Does the government not want for housing to be built? It wants it. But there simply are no apartments. For there to be, it is necessary to work, for society shares responsibility with the government. The accords are two-sided. The pope spoke many times during his visit about the need for honest work. I remember that at Jasna Gora he said, among other things, "Build, and don't destroy."

Wieslaw Pienkowski, electronics technician: I am of the opinion that lifting martial law will not change very much if we don't pull ourselves together and begin to work as is necessary. What does it matter if pretty programs, including an economical one, take shape, if raw materials, materials and human work are continually squandered. I see through the window that they are building a road, not one time and well, but 10 times and poorly. Can we afford this?

Wlodzimierz Rojewski, electrician technician: In that respect martial law did not bring the desired changes. We did not lose the habit of working any old way. One is still paid too often not for good work but for permanent employment. The head and legs of the economy have gained strength, now it is necessary to reach into the soft underbelly--into those accords, the lesser agreements, and into that system pulsating with a different rhythm. Lift martial law, yes, but continue to struggle with the manifestations of degeneration.

Lidia Wisniewska: Bear in mind, however, that sore spots are easier to notice, because they are worrisome. In the past year and a half we have managed to do quite a bit on the plus side. As a woman perhaps I am more interested than you in what is in the pot and on the table. Do you remember how one hunted for a jar of jam, a piece of cheese, butter, and margarine? Or that hair shampoo for 1600 zlotys a bottle sold from the West by dishonest people? And the lack of laundry soap and hand soap? Things have changed, gentlemen.

Wieslaw Pienkowski: In food output, indeed, although there are still shortages. Let us not be misled. There are no washing machines and refrigerators...and the prices, let us say, of television sets is, I ask you, within whose means? It annoys us that the reforms are being introduced slowly and are encountering difficulties and that we are so sluggish in beginning to understand the rules of the economic game. Has there been any word that an enterprise which works poorly has been rapped on the knuckles and left without means? For right now, no. But at some point it must come to that, for otherwise the rate of rebuilding the economy will not be accelerated.

Edward Paluchowski: The fact is that we are in a state of crisis, made worse by the sanctions. The whole nation feels it, our plant as well. Now we have found new clients in the USSR, among other nations. And that is why we are living. And in the economy generally, in spite of the problems, the situation has stabilized.

Lidia Widniewska: I would say it differently: the situation is stabilizing. That is progress...

ORZECZOWSKI VIEWS RECOVERY AFTER MARTIAL LAW

LD130209 Warsaw PAP in Russian 2100 GMT 12 Aug 83

["Poland Tries To Forge Ahead"--PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 12 Aug--The mere fact that martial law has been lifted does not free us from concerns and worries, said Marian Orzechowski, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] general secretary, in an interview with the Katowice weekly PANORAMA. This important event, Orzechowski went on to say, probably signifies a calmer life than before, better conditions for our existence, and better functioning of society and state. But this is only one more step, albeit a very important one, on the way to stabilization and total normalization, on the way to the great process defined as national rebirth. Not everything that was destroyed and ravaged over several years can be restored in such a short time as that between December 1981 and July 1983. The fact is that to change the psyche and nature of the people takes many generations. The rekindling of certain forgotten values which have been disregarded and distorted cannot be done overnight.

I think, Orzechowski continued, that in the course of the process of normalization it will become possible to restore the Polish economy and create certain juridical structures, but it will be considerably more difficult to transform human consciousness and attitudes--for instance, attitudes toward labor, which is what decides everything. It will be considerably more difficult to influence people's way of thinking and their relations to one another. This needs time. If only the Poles have enough persistence and consistency in their actions. This is a rather private phenomenon.

Emergence from the crisis will be worked out at enterprises, on the job, at scientific centers--that is, in the production sphere and at construction sites. It is in these areas that Poland is trying to forge ahead, Orzechowski noted in conclusion.

CSO: 1800/1559



PEACE ACTIVIST DISCUSSES SALT, MX, LASER WEAPONS

Warsaw PRZEGLAD TECHNICZNY in Polish 29 Jun 83 pp 27-29

[Interview with Andrzej Karkoszka, an employee of the Polish International Affairs Institute, a long-standing collaborator in the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, and a Palme Commission expert, by Marek Rostocki: "Thinking About the Unthinkable"]

[Text] [Question] What was it like to work with the Palme Commission, whose report on the conditions for arms limitation and the prospects for disarmament is so far one of the most credible documents of this type?

[Answer] The members of the commission were appointed by Palme himself from people with a great deal of political work and experience. They included, for example, former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, the director of the Soviet Institute of the U.S. and Canada, Georgiy Arbatov, former British Foreign Secretary David Owen, one of the creators of West Germany's foreign policy, Egon Bahr, and others. In short, the commission was composed of people from the front pages of the newspapers.

[Question] What was the role of the experts in this group?

[Answer] There were two permanent experts: General Milstein, on the Soviet side, and Mr Leonard, on the American side. In addition, the commission appointed additional experts for individual detailed problems. I participated in the Palme Commission's work three times, and dealt with disarmament verification and conventional weapons.

[Question] Why has the full text of the Palme Commission Report, which is famous and after all favorably viewed by the socialist countries, not yet appeared in Polish?

[Answer] Such proposals have been made, and it is being considered. On the other hand, an interpretation I prepared of the final part of the Report, the so-called recommendations, appeared in SPRAWY MIĘDZYNARODOWE [International Affairs].

[Question] What is your view of the Report's integrity?

[Answer] A very high one. One rarely meets such hard work by politicians at that level. I am emphasizing this, especially since this has to do with problems characterized by great technical difficulty, actually problems for specialists. This was genuinely hard work.

[Question] During the working meetings, behind closed doors, was there any discussion of antimissile defenses of the type presented by President Reagan in a recent speech? Obviously I am thinking of laser defenses.

[Answer] Such defenses were not mentioned. On the other, there was discussion--in some detail--of antimissile systems utilizing conventional systems.

[Question] And in the hallways? Between us professionals?

[Answer] The debate on this subject among specialists has lasted for about 5 years. I read the first major scientific report on radiation defenses in 1977 (I am thinking not only of high-energy lasers, but also of streams of ionized particles carrying enormous energy, given their impetus in accelerators). It appeared at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. This is what is occurring on the surface of activities in this field. One should assume that secret research has advanced considerably beyond everything that we know or what is written about.

[Question] What is your view of the feasibility of constructing an antimissile system using lasers?

[Answer] Everything is possible in technology. There is only the problem of political willingness, funds, and time. In this concrete case, even if work on laser antimissile systems is developed very intensively, I would not see practical use of them as coming any earlier than the beginning of the next century. On the other hand, the military use of lasers in space, i.e. for the destruction of the enemy's satellites, is a matter for the not-too-distant future. This is a result of the absence in space of a medium to dampen and disperse the radiation. Next, in space the size of the laser devices themselves and the energy sources powering them is a limitation.

[Question] What else, in addition to the atmosphere, limits the use of a "death ray" close to the earth?

[Answer] Until recently, the power of lasers was such a barrier. Progress in this area is rapid, however, due to a great extent to the use of chemical lasers. Toward the end of the 1970's, an experiment was conducted in the U.S. in which a laser cannon destroyed a flying object. On that occasion, the next problem appeared--hitting the flying object with the laser beam. Intercontinental ballistic missiles move at a great speed and as a result of this the construction of a system for aiming the laser cannon at the target is today considered the most difficult problem. This barrier appeared in its full acuteness during tests of

using lasers to protect ships from missiles. And let us recall that a missile can maneuver; changes in its trajectory can be programmed over a large range. Meanwhile, a laser cannon, mechanical or magnetic, as a result of its large mass, has a certain inertia. That is the key problem. It is a bigger problem than, for example, building energy sources--miniaturized nuclear reactors have already been used in satellites for many years. There has been considerable experience with the construction of space stations, on which laser cannons could be mounted. On the other hand, aiming that cannon in a fraction of a second at the nuclear warheads of ballistic missiles, of which there could be thousands in a nuclear war, is the most difficult technical problem today.

[Question] Can all of these limitations be ranked in order? After all, the degree of technical complexity in each case is different.

[Answer] The first barrier is the energy source. I think that it will be overcome in the next 15-20 years. I am also thinking of linear accelerators here. Progress in miniaturization has been incredibly rapid in the last few years--and I can see no reason for it to be different in the future.

The second barrier is, and will be, the cost of building a laser system capable of destroying the enemy's ballistic missiles. There is no country today that would be capable of financing the construction of such a system in the next few years. The next barrier is the system for aiming the laser cannon, which has to operate in a fraction of a second with enormous angular velocities. Nevertheless, however, I met a physicist who claims that this will be possible, as long as the aiming system does not operate on a mechanical principle. In spite of everything, I do not expect the use in space of an aiming system that meets these extremely high requirements before the end of the century.

[Question] What would the appearance of a laser antimissile system mean for the strategy of a nuclear war? Would this increase or decrease the possibility of its breaking out? Would it encourage or discourage making a first strike--the "first use?"

[Answer] The significance of building a laser antiballistic missile system would be critical, cardinal, historic. I am multiplying these descriptions in order to emphasize the great change in the doctrines of nuclear war and in the area of strategic balance that would be caused by the use of such a system, since we know what present and future conventional antimissile systems, the so-called ABMs (antiballistic missiles) mean for nuclear strategy.

[Question] The SALT I treaty prohibits building antiballistic systems...

[Answer] Except for those which it allows, i.e. one for each side, with the possibility of a choice as to whether to defend the capital or missile sites. The Soviet Union chose to protect Moscow, but

instead the United States chose to defend a missile site with intercontinental missiles. SALT I prohibits building such systems elsewhere, and expanding those permitted beyond 100 launchers.

[Question] Would the construction of new ABM systems, using laser defenses, for example, be a violation of SALT I?

[Answer] Yes. States, however, have a right to renounce international treaties that they have signed. In this case, violating SALT I would initiate a process that would have a very high probability of leading to nuclear war.

[Question] Why do you think so?

[Answer] This results from the very essence, the philosophy of ABMs. I am speaking here of ground-based systems, since a space antimissile system using high-energy lasers, for the reasons already mentioned, is for the time being a remote matter.

It is accepted--and this is an obvious assumption--that no ABM system will destroy all of the enemy's ballistic missiles. Furthermore, even with the best antimissile system, there is no point to defending the cities, since it will suffice for one ballistic missile to land, and then we will already have an apocalypse. On the other hand, there is sense in using an ABM system to protect silos with intercontinental missiles, since if antimissiles or laser cannon destroy half of the incoming enemy missiles, this will significantly increase the chance of a successful return strike. Specifically: President Reagan, as is well known is advocating the construction of the MX missiles--extremely accurate ones that are capable of destroying the enemy's missiles in their silos. What does this mean in practice? In turn, the use of part of the MX missiles to make the first strike, protection of the rest of them with the aid of an ABM system, and then the capability of making a second strike with these MX missiles, which due to the ABMs have withstood the enemy's counterattack inside their silos. In short, an ABM system, in combination with a first strike, guarantees the capability of making a third strike that will end the nuclear war. This alone eliminates the concept of "mutual assured destruction." A nuclear war is becoming something to think about; there may be a winner in it.

[Question] Are the people right who claim that implementation of the project of building the MX missiles is bringing us closer to a nuclear war?

[Answer] The MX missiles, in combination with an effective antimissile system, conventional or laser, will create a critical mass. In general, the cardinal elements lowering the threshold for the outbreak of a nuclear war are the development of a technique for locating submarines and the construction of forces to destroy them; ABM systems, which



destroy the principle of equal danger (and thus also safety); and an increase in the accuracy of intercontinental ballistic missiles. And the United States is working intensively in all of these fields. This is a new quality in the present situation.

NATO, and principally the U.S., has at its disposal extremely exact techniques for monitoring the enemy's submarines at the entrances to all of the maritime areas that have military significance. Counteraction consists of moving the submarines within the limits of territorial waters and equipping them with long-range ballistic missiles. As for antimissile systems--a technical possibility is appearing of building ABMs that would guarantee the destruction of a significant percentage of the enemy's missiles. Next, in regard to the accuracy of ballistic missiles, there is no longer any sense in building more accurate missiles. Furthermore, as I would like to emphasize particularly strongly, in the case of a violation of SALT I and the expansion of antimissile systems, there would be a simultaneous drastic expansion of offensive weapons--since the better the defense, the more missiles needed to destroy it, the more ABM systems have to be expanded, etc. The arms spiral is under way. The threat of the outbreak of a nuclear war comes closer. Therefore, curbing the building of new antimissile systems, including those which use radiation defenses, still has great significance.

[Question] Aren't the Americans aware where events are leading?

[Answer] Many American specialists understand perfectly the logic of events and its potential consequences. Recently on television, in pictures from the U.S., I saw professors from MIT--who taught me about nuclear strategies--standing in front of the White House with banners saying "Down with the ABM!" Among them was an advisor on disarmament under two successive presidents, Kennedy and Johnson.

[Question] Then why does President Reagan do what he is doing?

[Answer] In his speech, Reagan announced the development of research on new ABM systems. On the other hand, he did not say anything about whether they would be used sometime. Why did he do this? Maybe he thought that this would be beneficial for the U.S. in the present stage of the strategic negotiations with the Soviet Union; maybe he is counting on concessions from the Soviets on the issue of euromissiles, under the influence of the vision of laser antimissile systems.

[Question] Do you know of any defense systems that would not be used by the military when they are developed?

[Answer] This is where the danger lies, especially since on this occasion the temptation to obtain a strategic superiority is particularly great. Radiation defenses as an element in an ABM system are being treated by the Americans as an important factor in the technological war, as the U.S. has stated to the Soviet Union. I think that this is also a question of increased arms expenditures, and thus an economic war.



Finally, I think that the factor of prestige, the perception of America's power by its allies and opponents, is not without significance. This is what the game is finally about--how others see the power of a given country, if for some time the U.S. has the first and only space or ground-based ABM system with laser defenses, then politicians are going to hope to use this somehow, maybe tomorrow and maybe the day after tomorrow. Certainly no one knows yet when and how. It is only known that new cards are needed in this game called politics. Laser defenses are such a card.

[Question] You are rationalizing this, but people are saying that if there is so much discussion of a war, then it will finally become a fact.

[Answer] Our reactions are undoubtedly formed to a great extent by Eurocentrism; in India or Nigeria the concept of a nuclear war, which has been encountered so often recently in the European and U.S. press, is an abstraction. At present we are living so close to this concept for several reasons. In the first place, we have to deal with the exacerbation of East-West relations. In the second place, the present year is the year for implementation of NATO's decision on deploying Pershing-2 and cruise missiles in Western Europe. In the third place, uncertainty is prevailing with respect to the fate of the negotiations on limiting strategic arms (SALT, or START in American terminology), the Geneva negotiations on intermediate range missiles are continuing, and there still have not been any results from the Vienna negotiations on conventional weapons. What next? This uncertainty is hard for many people to bear.

[Question] What do you think of the state of awareness of Polish society in this field? Hasn't the past policy of general reports and commentaries, lacking facts but full of epithets, made Poles insensitive to the threats posed by nuclear weapons?

[Answer] Polish society is concerned with other problems. There is little awareness of how great the nuclear threat is at present. Poles, who have had such terrible experiences of war, are to some extent pacifists by nature. On the other hand, they do not know much about what a nuclear war would be like, and they have little awareness of the fact that it would take place mainly on our territory. This was stated clearly, possibly for the first time, by Brig Gen Czeslaw Dega from the General Staff Academy in a recent PAP interview. I think that it would be advisable to disseminate knowledge of various aspects of the nuclear threat among the broadest circles of Polish society. I am not talking about frightening them, but about a serious dialogue on serious matters. This has to do with genuine social support for the efforts of the Polish government to put off the threat of a nuclear war in Europe.

[Question] Nevertheless, so far in Poland the news doctrine of "not frightening" has been obligatory, and perhaps still is.

[Answer] I repeat that it is not a question of frightening. Society should nevertheless have an awareness of the realities of the world in which it lives. On the other hand, the problems of nuclear weapons and

disarmament are closely linked to the foreign policy of the security of the state. And these are sensitive problems, especially in our case. Nevertheless, keeping too many issues quiet seems inadvisable to me. If our activities on behalf of peace are to arouse trust on the other side, then society has to be informed about the real threat of a nuclear conflict.

[Question] The publications of SIPRI [Stockholm International Peace Research Institute], a mecca of peace research, with which you have been collaborating for many years, are considered to be model ones. Maybe it would be worthwhile to make use of that experience here.

[Answer] The SIPRI data are really trustworthy to the highest degree. I am emphasizing this, because--let us not forget--we are dealing with a very secret and hidden sphere that is accessible to few people. In my opinion, SIPRI's renown is fully justified. Furthermore, SIPRI surpasses other centers of this type in the scope of its analyses: from the economic aspects of arms, through the status of arms (including nuclear and space weapons, for example), to an assessment of the disarmament talks.

[Question] Who is financing this, and for whose benefit is it?

[Answer] SIPRI's activities are financed entirely by the Swedish parliament.

[Question] Who works in SIPRI?

[Answer] At this time the institute is employing representatives of 14 nationalities. These are not the representatives of states, however, but experts who have individual private contracts with SIPRI. It is simply known who is working on what and how valuable he is. In regard to the representatives of the socialist countries, one may fairly often meet disarmament experts from the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and Romania at SIPRI, and less frequently from Poland and Hungary. Scientists from East Germany have good records.

[Question] How do you rate our Polish experts?

[Answer] The most prominent ones, highly. Comparison is difficult, however, SIPRI works on the central problems of world armaments, while Poland is interested mainly in European security, NATO arms, and the militarization of West Germany. Next, with respect to research methods, SIPRI certainly has better sources of information, while the analyses of the political aspects of arms and disarmament by our experts are undoubtedly more profound. In the field of European security we really have a first-class group of experts, for example in the Foreign Ministry.

[Question] I am looking at the shelves on which you have hundreds of kilograms of documentation, and it freezes me. There is no politician in any country who would be capable of encompassing the entirety of the problem of arms and disarmament. Is anyone keeping on top of this at all?

[Answer] Politicians do not really need such detailed knowledge. Let us consider the Pershing-2's, which are famous today. A politician does not have to know their technical data or the history of their development; he does not have to know that this missile penetrates into the earth up to a certain depth and only then explodes. On the other hand, a politician has to know how much time the other side has to react if the Pershing-2 missiles are used; this will allow him to assess the effect of a possible deployment of such missiles in western Europe on the political atmosphere in this region.

[Question] You ought to tell us how the private talks are going between the experts of both sides--people who know exactly how many people can be killed by how many methods and in how much time. After all, there are not too many of you; you have been meeting for years at these so-called disarmament conferences that do not end in anything concrete, you know each other, and you meet in the same bars during the breaks. And so?

[Answer] You are dramatizing this. I do not talk with the people who make the latest decisions, but with fascinated scientists like myself. Possibly there is more that unites us than divides us. We are united by the apprehension, or let us say fear, that this world might fly apart, that someone might do something stupid that cannot be corrected. As long as we are sitting at the tables or the bars and talking, it is not bad.

Things are completely different with those who deal with real military secrets. During my stay at MIT in the U.S. I spoke with a physicist, a designer of many American strategic systems. In response to all of my 80 questions, I received the same answer: "No comment." That was the conversation.

[Question] Do you--the disarmament experts--have a feeling that you have influence on something?

[Answer] If there is a good political climate, then there is also influence. On the other hand, in a political atmosphere like the present one, people are unwilling to listen to an expert.

[Question] What do you think of the leaders of the West European and American peace movements of the "freeze" type, who are criticized for being naive and lacking imagination?

[Answer] They are pacifists in the best sense of the word, people with pure intentions, and furthermore frequently with a perfect familiarity with the ins and outs of arms and disarmament. Sometimes I compare my reactions to their behavior. I think that I am more calculating than they are; in my opinion the problems of a state's external security are inseparably linked to its military security, while they are seeking to renounce this spontaneously. This is certainly influenced by a different tradition and political culture; maybe we simply had

different history teachers. I do not think, however, that I have any superiority over them for this reason. On the contrary, they seem close to me, although I do not always understand them. I am not a pacifist, and if I had to declare myself, I would call myself an antimilitarist. This is a neglected word, and a bit like one from another epoch without intercontinental missiles and nuclear warheads, but it is still a very relevant one. The former director of the International Atomic Energy Agency for many years, Mr Eklund of Sweden, said once that the greatest threat to humanity is that people have grown accustomed to living with the atom bomb. As much as I can, I would like to destroy this psychological comfort.

9909

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# IDEOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF 'EUROCOMMUNISM' ASSESSED

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 12, 8 Jun 83 pp 22, 23

[Article by: Tadeusz Iwinski]

[Text] The question of the "Eurocommunism" creates much controversy in the international communist movement. The term itself is ambiguous and embraces various contents: it is connected with the issue of the transition to socialism in conceptions and programs of a number of communist parties in highly developed capitalist countries.

In general terms, "Eurocommunism" is supposed to constitute a kind of common principle guiding local revolutionary processes in modern conditions, when one is dealing with establishing an antimonopolistic democracy in order to develop it into construction of a socialist society by strengthening its socialist features. A number of western parties such as the Spanish, Italian, Swedish (Left Party Communists), Dutch and British define their policy by the name of "Eurocommunist". In addition, this characterization is used in relation to several non-European parties, first and foremost to the Communist Party of Japan which has half a million members.

## The Concept and Its Interpretation

The notion of "Eurocommunism" was introduced by the Italian journalist Frane Barbieri and used in western press for the first time in the middle of 1975, after the Livorno meeting of the leaders of the Communist Party of Spain and the Italian Communist Party, to denote common features in the policies of both parties. In this context it is worthwhile to quote the words of Enrico Berlinguer on "the final liberation of our doctrine from its scholastic use and from orientations which no longer reflect actual historical conditons, in order to be able to tread on the partially not yet tested roads of development towards socialism" and the words of Santiago Carrillo on the necessity of not being satisfied with ready-made formulae but rather working out a strategy and tactic with characteristic features corresponding to the new conditions.

Initially, all communists rejected the term; only after the meetings of the leaders of the Spanish Communist Party [PCE], Italian Communist Party [PCI] and French Communist Party [PCF] (the Madrid meeting in March of 1977 played a



special role), the term was approved by certain western parties. The 1977 publication of Santiago Carrillo's book "Eurocommunism and State", which triggered an avalanche of discussions and polemics in labor movement, played an important part in the popularizing of the notion of "Eurocommunism". The then secretary general of PCE recognized "Eurocommunism" as the only model of revolution applicable in developed capitalist countries. Among the basic features of "Eurocommunism" he mentioned the following: multiparty system, parliamentary road to power and the acceptance of the thesis that democratic freedoms and human rights constitute historical achievement inseparably connected with the progress of humanity. "Eurocommunism" must manifest itself on all levels of sociopolitical life, often constituting open opposition to solutions used in the countries of actual socialism, in particularly rejecting the "Soviet model" of socialism in favor of "national models" (e.g. the "socialism with the national colors of France", as PCF began to characterize this at its 22nd congress).

Soon numerous conferences and seminars began to be organized in the West on the subject of "Eurocommunism". In the course of a few years, a host of publications were dedicated to the topic, written mostly by nonmarxists. Very different views have been presented in these publications. The attitude of marxists towards "Eurocommunism" has been generally critical, that of bourgeois authors varied. Some described the entire phenomenon as lasting, others as ephemeral, still others as a "utopia" and "myth" or a tendency to put aside class struggle, which would have to adopt itself to the logic of capitalism, while others created it as a new quality.

"Eurocommunism" is also frequently characterized as "the third way" (e.g. by PCI and PCE, but not any more by PCF); this concept is also interpreted differently. For example, according to Berlinguer, "the third way" means that the possibility of using "the Soviet model" within the framework of western European societies is rejected, while it is recognized at the same time that the traditional social democratic establishment is no longer capable of solving the problems arising from the crisis of capitalism and the international crisis.

One must be aware of the fact that there is no complete doctrine of "Eurocommunism". It would be difficult to speak of a unified vision of socialism, or of roads leading to it through specific "Eurocommunist" parties. In many of them, discussions on this topic are going on, which frequently substantially polarize the given party. Take for instance PCF. It is not viewed as "Eurocommunist" in the world communist movement, but it is "Eurocommunist" in terms of the conception of attainment of socialism. In certain versions, "Eurocommunism" even implies total rejection of the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist revolution, principles of proletarian internationalism and unity for the world communist movement. "Eurocommunist" parties proclaim the thesis of a crisis of present-day socialism, whereby e.g. the events in Poland are interpreted as just another argument in its favor, with anti-Soviet accents. A former leader of PCE Manuel Azcarate even refused USSR and Poland the right to be called socialist states.

It is very characteristic that the "Eurocommunist" parties eliminated from their programs and other documents the term "dictatorship of the proletariat" and that they do not identify themselves as marxist-leninist but merely as marxist, and this is a matter of content, not just words.

## Attitude Towards Dictatorship of Proletariat

The "Eurocommunists" announce a road to socialism different from that resulting from experiences of the socialist countries. In their opinion, the notion of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" evokes, as it were, an image of fascism (this argument has been used by Georges Marchais). Moreover, they think that the proletariat of highly industrialized societies has dissolved as a class, and the socialist state must represent the interests of all hired workers. The idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat is replaced in the transition period by the vision of a new political formation, where all socialist currents are grouped together on principles of mutual independence. To sum up, the transition to socialism must take place in the course of social transformations, without any change in the rules of democracy (namely through obtaining a parliamentary majority), only channeling it into new forms of activity. Forces of progress, more and more strongly identified with democracy, would constitute the new historic bloc. In other words, the road to socialism will be a widening of democracy, "negation of the entire totalitarian concept," namely the existence of a pluralistic society in which many political parties operate, representing a variety of classes and groups interested in constructing socialism.

On the other hand, leninism is interpreted as a purely Russian phenomenon, a generalization of the Russian experience only and not of the experience of the entire international labor movement, which thus cannot be transferred into the context of highly industrialized countries. The "Eurocommunists" do regard Lenin as a revolutionary leader but criticize a number of his ideas as clearly inadequate to contemporary realities. A case in point is the crucial matter of Lenin's new type party model, which is treated as a "wartime" party.

It can be stated without hesitation that the proposed new notion of the vanguard role of the party deviates significantly from the interpretation by the classics of marxism-leninism. These and other elements taken together make it impossible to rule out completely the danger of the "Eurocommunist" parties being transformed into parties of the social-democratic type, especially since they are under strong pressure from the bourgeoisie, which uses the very term "Eurocommunism" for its own purposes.

The "Eurocommunist" parties strongly emphasize their independence in matters of foreign policy and the need for independence from the USSR and other socialist countries. They also reject the working out of a general line of activity for the world communist movement, even if it is being worked out at regularly convened conferences. Moreover, they criticize the system of democracy in the countries of actual socialism, especially in the USSR, due to the alleged lack of secured participation of workers in the governing of the state. In the mentioned book by Carrillo there is even the following far-flung opinion: "The schema of a proletarian state, drawn by Lenin in his 'State and Revolution,' has not been practically realized anywhere, and least of all in the country which has continuously advertised it to us" (p.197). The Italian party even came up with the thesis that the phase of the development of socialism begun by the October Revolution has exhausted its driving force and, at the end of 1981, allowed for creation of a new orientation in the international communist movement. These and other theses contained in the PCI documents were met with polemics and criticism by many parties, both in socialist and in capitalist countries (e.g. CPSU, PZPR; Denmark's Communist Party [DKP], CP of the U.S.).

## Understanding of Internationalism

The stance of several "Eurocommunist" parties in certain matters (such as the evaluation of the situations in Poland and Afghanistan) can hardly be reconciled with the principles of internationalism and proletarian solidarity. These parties reject the formula of the proletarian internationalism and have introduced the notion of "new internationalism." In their view, effects of imperialist policies are reflected presently in all strata and groups of the society, not only in the working class, which means that one must fight also for the realization of interests of all these groups. The "new internationalism" thus means the following (as stated in the joint communique of the talks between the leaders of PCI and PCE): "Agreement among workers' and democratic forces of West Europe: communist, socialist, social-democratic and those acting on Christian principles". The importance of the class approach is thereby diminished.

## Results and Conclusions

The recent years have shown that "Eurocommunism" not only has not become the theory of the entire communist movement in the West, but has found itself in a crisis. After all, in practice there cannot be any "Euro", "Afro" or "Asio" communism. There is one scientific socialism, and the science of marxism-leninism in a natural way provides for and establishes the specifics of activities of separate parties. National roads to socialism and their historical conditioning need not be absolutized.

The bloc of "Eurocommunist" parties, which seemed to have formed in 1977, turned out to be unstable. For example, the French party at its 24th congress last year reintroduced, to be sure, the definition itself of "Eurocommunism", but as a theoretical justification of the struggle for socialism, not as opposition of its own road to socialism and its own concept of its construction to the experience of the socialist countries. Membership and influence of some "Eurocommunist" parties have significantly decreased, and divisions have grown in their midst. The latter concerns particularly the Spanish and Italian parties.

The contemporary communist movement proclaims itself unambiguously in favor of a plurality of roads to socialism depending on the specific conditions in the given country. It is precisely in this plurality that the regularity of the transition from capitalism to socialism manifests itself. The marxist theory is not a dogma but guidance towards action, and that is why every communist party uses it by exploring the general and the specific in the process of the development of socialism. Naturally, it has every right to seek out the best roads to socialism.

The concept of "Eurocommunism" makes obvious the necessity of theoretical deepening of many basic principles of scientific socialism dealing with both the regularities of constructing the basis of socialism and its superstructure. This, however, cannot lead to deviation from the basic theses of marxism-leninism and universal principles of the construction of socialism towards neoreformist positions. In practice, there are no "models" of socialism, whether Soviet or Polish or any other. One can speak only of different experiences, of actual linkages of the universal principles of socialism with specific national conditions.

The problem of "Eurocommunism", without a doubt, merits detailed and extensive study. It seems worthwhile to add here a fragment of the NEPSZABADSAG newspaper's interview with Janos Kadar: "It is the duty of every party to take into consideration traditions which arose in the course of its nation's historical development, the given country's specifics and society, and at the same time, experiences of the international workers' movement. This is not 'Eurocommunism': this has always been, is and will be in all communist parties, in whatever part of the world and in whatever country they operate."

12391

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NATIONAL CHARACTER OF POLES DISCUSSED

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 8 Jul 83 p 3

[Interview with Dr Mirosław Karwat and Dr Włodzimierz Milanowski, Institute for Fundamental Problems of Marxism-Leninism, by Marek Sobiecki; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] In the discussion of the national character of Poles which has been under way for several months now, quite diverse views and concepts have collided. What is "the national character" for a Marxist political scientist?

[M. Karwat] It is a notion describing a genuine phenomenon. It can be interpreted either in accordance with the essence of that phenomenon or in a simplifying manner, even as a distortion of reality. In the latter case, we have to deal with a deliberately disseminated myth or stereotype. This is the case now, when the notion of a Polish national character is employed to either justify or condemn a certain political behavior. Generally, this is injected into a traditional and erroneously formulated debate over "Who is right--the authorities or the people?"

The notion of a national character conceals a real phenomenon, a certain historical fact. In definite historical conditions, a given people manifest a particular set of traits, which are specific and typical for the people. This is not to say that other peoples do not display the same traits. The national character rises out of a certain mesh of these traits. It would be easier to use an example to show it. For example, what is diligence associated with? Is it honesty, the ability to sacrifice, an individualistic or collectivistic approach? the juxtaposition of notions such as "diligent-lazy," "obedient-anarchical," "altruistic-egotistic," do not convey any meaning until we begin regarding national traits as a certain set of properties.

[W. Milanowski] I would like to stress the role of historical background in the process of shaping the Polish national character. On the one hand, ours is a history of expansion into ethnically alien territories. On the other hand, however, it is a history of losing indigenously Polish areas. Therefore, the set of traits of the people must reflect the events affecting "the center," i.e. the focal point of formation of the Polish state and Polish character. It is no accident that the national character does not possess the traits which



were shaped in Silesia, Pomerania or Great Poland, that is to say, on territories which in certain periods remained outside "the circumscription of national existence." Such traits as civil loyalty, discipline and diligence and so on are mainly missing. On the other hand, character traits associated with the need of struggle for the liberation of the nation, with rebellion and so on are very much in evidence. After all, other peoples of Central Europe also manifest these traits, due to similar paths in their historical development.

[Question] What do we--or rather what should we mean when we resort to the notion of national character?

[M. Karwat] There are several elements. Firstly, there is the image of the meaning of national existence. Every people ascribes to itself a certain historic mission or role, whether accurately or not. This can be a messianic conviction, [belief in] its uniqueness, civilizing mission and so on. This is a certain value which members of a given community identify with--to be sure, only the ones from among them who subscribe to that image. This value is considered to be a factor creating this community.

A code of supreme values regulating human behavior is another element. Is the person subordinated to the community or the other way around? In other words, is the attitude individualistic, collectivistic, or the exact opposite, dualistic, totalitarian? The organization of a nation and motivations behind the actions of its members depend on how this dilemma is solved.

The national character should also include models of behavior accepted either consciously or spontaneously, for example, modes of response to political phenomena typical of the community in question. The attitude towards the economy, towards labor is a high priority item to be taken into consideration.

All these elements are not only dynamic, they have a certain inertia, i.e. they lag behind changes in the real environment. It is true that the character of a people is conditioned by the character of its history.

This is not to say that a nation is exactly the same as its history, but that its history shapes its way of thinking. As a result of historical experience, a certain stereotype of the state has come to exist in the collective consciousness of the Poles. Hence our stateless way of thinking and behavior and our inability to think in national terms are sometimes overly stressed but not without good reasons. We were too late to reassess our historical experience; our consciousness does not keep pace with changes in the real environment. The attitude toward the state of today is somewhat of a continuation of those [earlier] views.

[Question] Studies of the outlook of the Pole in the late 1970s and early 1980s carried out by the PAN [Polish Academy of Sciences] Institute of Philosophy and Sociology testify to the immense incongruence of attitudes. More simply, we often contradict ourselves. Given this situation, does talking about the national character make any sense?

[M. Karwat] One does not exclude the other. National character is a property of the community. These are traits which repeat themselves over a long time span, which are widespread among the members of the community in question. Therefore, not every Pole has the traits attributed to "the generic Pole." Particular personalities can be quite dissimilar to the traits attributed to the entire people. Also, we very often subscribe to conflicting views without noticing the conflict or reconciling these views harmoniously. At the root is whether the national character is by itself an internally contradictory creation, a set of mutually exclusive elements. Also essential is whether the thinking of the people as an entity is consistent or not.

[Question] Let us assume the latter, i.e. the lack of consistency in the collective thinking of Poles. In that situation, how do we influence the society in order to bring out the favorable aspects of national character?

[W. Milanowski] It is difficult to answer this question. Certain traits of national character can be meshed together in such a way that they have no individual bearers, that is to say no concrete individual displays them. In my opinion, these are mainly favorable traits. Therefore, a spreading of sorts, the individualization of national character would be in order. How are we to do this? I think that there are no comprehensive solutions. One cannot devise a method of propagating a given national character, which would cause the favorable traits to manifest themselves.

In the course of our history, there have been at least several large-scale propaganda campaigns, which were aimed at reconstructing social consciousness, for example, in the era of positivism or during the 6-year plan. They have produced only the dissemination of further stereotypes.

Taking an abstract view of this phenomenon, the segment of national culture which has a bearing on the process of political socialization of future generations should be changed in order to change the national character. The romanticism of "cheery" literature should be replaced by a different literature pulled out of a "hiding place" of sorts, a literature that would shape totally different stereotypes. However, we will not find this "hiding place." Simply put, that literature does not exist! Therefore, there is no opportunity of change through simple propaganda or propaganda and indoctrination measures.

Another method also comes to mind, namely, a change in the educating and the upbringing of the younger generation. This would call for changing the structure of the schools, the curricula and, most importantly, the cadres. As one knows, this is not possible either.

We can, however, analyze the impact of civilizational, economic and social change. This, however, requires time. Despite the 39-years existence of People's Poland, the time span in which the modern Polish people has been formed is very limited. The longest period of stability lasted from 1957 to 1968. However, in 11 years it is altogether impossible to radically inculcate new traits and properties, modes of thinking and behavior.

[M. Karwat] It is necessary to add something else in this matter. Certainly, we will not affect social consciousness by simple propaganda measures and especially by campaigns. After all, they do not change the structure and background of the mass psychology. Due to their politically opportunistic nature which is obvious for everyone [such measures] often produce the so-called boomerang effect. The public becomes even further convinced of the validity of stereotypes, of ahistorical thinking. Changes in consciousness can only occur under the influence of a permanent comparison of views and attitudes. By means of propaganda and indoctrination we can only prevent the more significant distortions.

Nonetheless, much depends on the propaganda and indoctrination policy. If false views flattering cheap tastes had not been left without a response, the national character would have undergone changes. Even a very young person can draw conclusions from comparing [different] views.... Here is another example. As late as the end of the 19th century, the legend of "noble Poles who were unfortunate" was not all that obvious. Meanwhile, the educational system has been cultivating the belief in the "noble but unfortunate Poles," renouncing only some reactionary traditions. The Church also has a stake in the apologetic image of the past, as it pits this image against the reality which it has not entirely recognized. This situation leads to sacralization, or sanctification of various phenomena, personalities and attitudes. You cannot talk badly about Pilsudski, national uprisings and the Warsaw uprising.

As a consequence, stereotypes already in existence are materialized. Undesirable and dangerous traits begin to become a part of the national character.

Maybe, I am too defensive in my assessment of this problem. However, in order to shape the national character we should first of all prevent its deformation.

9761

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BIALYSTOK PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Executive Board on Higher Education

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 30 May 83 p 2

[Article by: (c)]

[Text] At its last session, the PZPR Bialystok KW Executive Board acquainted itself, as the first order of business, with information on the current status of and prospects for the development of the local colleges.

Two of them: the Medical School and the Polytechnic, despite their relatively recent establishment, strictly speaking 30 years is insignificant insofar as a college is concerned, are growing constantly as self-governing entities in the region's socioeconomic and educational panorama. On the other hand, the much younger branch of the Warsaw University must continually strive for self-governing status, which it anyway carries out systematically and consistently. Insofar as the remaining educational entities, and specifically the Warsaw Music Conservatory and the two departments of the College of Theatre Arts are concerned, their prospects appear to be more or less the same, or similar to those of outside departments of parent institutions. The role and meaning of the Bialystok colleges is best attested to by the fact that they prepare students in over 30 fields of study and specialization in the natural sciences, in engineering, and in the humanities, which are so greatly needed in our economy, administration, education, and culture.

The recent establishment of our educational system, the degree of the functions being carried out by it, and the diversity of problems which need to be solved (personnel, local, etc.) naturally cannot conceal the most important factor and that is the continued improvement of the educational process. At the same time, needs as well as expectations continue to be significant in this area. This not only concerns the teaching field, and professional preparation of the students, but also the formation of an appropriate socialist and civic attitude and demeanor. There is still much which remains to be done and undone. This field should become the subject of special interest and activity for both the administration of the individual colleges and the party organizations.



As the second order of business, the KW Executive Board discussed the status of preparations for summer activities for the children and the youth. The formula's programmatic assumptions: recreation, education, and work represent a harmonious linkage of active recreation together with the formation of patriotic and civic attitudes. This year despite manifold difficulties, over 75,000 children and youth throughout the province, and 12,000 more than last year, will benefit from diverse forms of recreation. The novelty is that 1,420 students will spend their vacations in the German Democratic Republic.

Preparations for summer activities have already entered the final phase. The organizers represented by the local educational and administrative organs, and the coorganizers represented by the TPD [Society of Children's Friends], ZHP [Polish Scout Union], ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth], ZMW, and housing and agricultural cooperative movement of organizations have worked hard so that the activities would be successful equally because of the attractiveness of the recreation planned, as with the education, food and security. At the same time, it is appropriate to emphasize that which was specifically stressed during the Executive Board session, and that is that the factories and trade unions have expressed great interest in the summer activities.

With regard to a subsequent matter, the KW Executive Board acquired data on the development of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth in the province. This movement which brings together people of diverse beliefs and opinions, and which is based upon the socialist constitutional principles of our nation has become a permanent part of the Bialystok sociopolitical scene. The movement's active presence is evidenced in daily activities and in all areas of life, through its desire for agreement and liberation of public initiative, in order to bring about socialist renewal and a speedier solution to the crisis.

#### Executive Board on Main Developments of Industry

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 13 Jun 83 p 2

[Article by: (awm)]

[Text] At its latest meeting, the PZPR Bialystok KW Executive Board discussed the current problems arising from the activities of the people's councils. Also carried out was an evaluation of the activities of the WRN [Provincial People's Council] councillors and party members.

During the past year, the WRN met 5 times, during which time they examined the problems concerning the principal direction of the development of light industry and services for the years 1982-1985; the establishment of conditions for the creation of a self-governing college of humanities in Bialystok, as well as future trends in the health care and social welfare sectors up to 1985. Analyzed were such topics as: a program for the allocation of local land for the establishment of garden plots for workers for the years 1983-1985, the modernization of cultural development programs by 1985, activities to improve



public services in the near future, and a provincial budget and socioeconomic plan, as well as predicted housing construction by 1985.

Issues discussed during the sessions concerned the relations between councillors and the state administration, greater cohesiveness among councillors and PZPR members regarding obligations arising from their mandate, and the undertaking of activities within the scope of the organization of a uniform front of opposition toward phenomena of social pathology.

The KW Executive Board presented a positive evaluation on the work done by the provincial people's councils, recommending that the PZPR echelons and cells support the work of the councils which represent extremely important socialist democratic cells.

The councillors were thanked and acknowledged for their public work on behalf of the province's citizens, and a set of rules was approved for the team of WRN councillors and PZPR members.

Subsequently, the KW Executive Board acquainted itself with data on the realization of Resolution Number 11 of the PZPR and NK ZSL Central Committee Plenum in Bialystok Province. It was determined that the timetable for the accomplishment of this resolution was proceeding normally. A series of activities linked with the dissemination of the contents and tasks issuing from joint PZPR, ZSL, and nonparty member meetings were undertaken. Attention was focused on the need for continued consistent fulfillment of the timetable, as well as the utilization of all opportunities in order to carry out an efficient harvest for this year, minimize the losses resulting from unfavorable phenomena such as the potato beetle infestations.

In addition, they examined data on the accomplishment of the party schooling program in the PZPR provincial organization for the 1982-1983 academic year, resolving that these issues should serve as the topic of discussion at the upcoming PZPR Provincial Committee plenary session.

#### Executive Board on Anti-Inflation, Economizing Programs

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 27 Jun 83 p 3

[Article by: (c)]

[Text] At its last meeting, the PZPR Bialystok Provincial Committee Executive Board acquainted itself with information on the status of the establishment of anti-inflation and resources conservation programs in the factories. This represents an unusually vital task, whose primary goal concerns the mobilization of all the economy's inherent reserves, thereby establishing the conditions for a gradual solution to the crisis, preceded by numerous organizational, educational, and explanatory undertakings. In the majority of the factories, the principle of the development of programs by specially acquainted teams, the pronouncement of opinions by party organizations, and confirmation by workers' cooperative councils was adopted. Currently, out of 473 provincial economic units, such programs have been accepted by the

self-managing organs of 374 units. In the remainder, the level of advancement allows one to believe that they will be developed and adopted by the end of this June.

The analysis of the development programs indicates that not all the factories have approached these important issues with equal concern and responsibility. Some, like the KZKS [Railroad Steel Construction Works] in Starosielce, the Biruna Fleece Products Works, the Fasta Cotton Plants, and Bielpo have accepted the ambitious and reasonable programs, expecting the achievement of specific results in the areas of raw materials and materials conservation, improvement in efficiency and work productivity, and also an increase in market production. Others, and there are many did not exhibit comparable interest, initiative, or ambition. Many programs are characterized by their general character and haste. They often overlook such principal issues as work organization, employment structure, and effective resource management. Also disturbing is the implementation of lower production output than that foreseen by the central planning organs.

The Executive Board turned its attention to the need for a thorough evaluation of the programs by the appropriate founding organs. At the same time, it recognized as highly significant the need for dissemination of the adopted programs among the workers.

During the second point of discussion, the Executive Board acquainted itself with data on the implementation of the Council of Ministers resolution. This resolution concerns the status of the foreman. It was determined that in many factories, the discussion of this topic was predominantly concentrated around the foreman's salary in relation to his subordinates. His role and obligations as a production or educational organizer were rarely mentioned.

Moreover, the Executive Board discussed the state of readiness for the Provincial Committee plenary session which would be dedicated to the role and tasks of ideological indoctrination in consolidation of the party. The plenum discussion on this subject will take place next Thursday, 30 June.

#### Plenum on Importance of Ideological Indoctrination

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 1 Jul 83 pp 1-2

[Article by: (rk)]

[Text] Yesterday's 30 June PZPR Bialystok Provincial Committee plenary session was dedicated to a discussion of the role and tasks of ideological indoctrination insofar as party consolidation is concerned. The sessions were headed by Wlodzimierz Kolodziejuk, KW first secretary, and included Wladyslaw Loranc, the Central Committee Ideological Department director.

Both the evaluation of the fulfillment of the indoctrination program in 1982-1983 (accessible earlier to plenum participants), as well as the report

leading into the discussion, underlined that the measurable criteria of party echelon and organization functioning are represented by ideological-political units, by organizational content, and by successful activities in the widest possible public circles. Therefore, in opening the session, Kolodziejuk noted that knowledge of marxist-leninist theory in the party ranks is indispensable, as is the functioning of a socialist state, especially based upon the experience of the party program of recent years concerning the renewal of socioeconomic life, as well as the conditioning and tasks which have come about because of the international situation.

KW secretary Mikolaj Kozak focused the attention of KW members and guests on two basic Executive Board report issues, specifically, the role and significance of ideological indoctrination, and the methods and ways for increasing its effectiveness. In appraising the current status of ideological indoctrination, the speaker determined that the results obtained in 1982-1983 attest to the earnest efforts of party echelons and aktiv organization instructors, lecturers, and seminarians in the reconstruction and political, economic and educational development within the party ranks, as well as in specific sectors, especially in workers', educational, cultural, rural, and youth circles. This is confirmed by the fact that the scope of indoctrination encompassed about 90 percent of the basic party organizations, in comparison with last year's 70 percent. Twenty-three WUML [Evening University of Marxism-Leninism] branches were established in 23 manufacturing enterprises, and in two colleges. Much attention was also devoted to the indoctrination of POP and OOP secretaries. Fifty-four courses were organized and over 1,500 individuals were indoctrinated.

Secretary Kozak and many other participants stressed that the development of indoctrination and its enhancement utilizing interesting subject matter influenced the growing number of party members participating in the stabilization process which was characterized in Bialystok by a lack of tensions. Party members are playing a more active role in the fulfillment of economic reforms, in the establishment of trade unions, PRON cells, and in rallying the public in favor of the renewal program.

In the discussion which included 14 participants, among them Eugeniusz Maslowski, Bialystok POPR director; Jerzy Panasiuk, Hajnowka KM [City Committee] first secretary; Stanislaw Maliszewski, Bialystok KM secretary; lecturers: Helena Gnatowska, Mikolaj Kuc, and Aleksy Karpiuk; Zenon Herba, KU [University Committee] first secretary at the UW [Warsaw University] branch; and Mikolaj Miruc, a farmer from the Michalowo gmina, reports indicated that the indoctrination process brings about gains when the program is adapted to the activities of the basic party organizations, as well as to the needs and interests of party members. Both the lecturers and the Central Committee Ideological Department deserve recognition for their rich topical lectures. Participants also emphasized that reading materials must be presented in a more accessible and comprehensible manner for the average course attendee.

In their responses, the participants suggested that particular attention be focused on the indoctrination of candidate members and new party members, and include the indoctrination of the weaker organizations, especially those in the

rural sector. Attention was also focused on the need for echelons to provide the lecturers with more assistance and better materials and technical equipment for the ROPP [Regional Party Work Organization].

Wladyslaw Loranc, the Central Committee Ideological Department director also participated in the discussion. Speaking on the role of party schooling, he noted that it must be clearly linked with the party's political objectives which include the restoration of the economy's developmental capabilities, a sense of social justice, and restoration of the nation's rightful position in Europe and the world. He indicated that indoctrination should serve to activate party work in order to develop the capabilities necessary for the solution of the socioeconomic problems.

At the conclusion of the sessions, the plenum elected Stanislaw Suchodolski to the KW Executive Board, and as KW secretary for agricultural and food economy matters.

The plenum accepted the KW Executive Board decision concerning the appointment of Stanislaw Pulnar, director of the Propaganda and Agitation Department as chief editor of the PR [Polish Radio] in Bialystok; and accepted the resignation of Longin Wasilewicz as KW and KW Executive Board member in conjunction with his transfer to a new job in Warsaw. Colleague Wasilewicz received a letter of appreciation from the Provincial Committee for his many years of fruitful work in the Bialystok region together with best wishes in his new job.

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POLAND

GDANSK PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Assessment of Party Group Work

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 6 May 83 p 2

[Article by (j.): "From the Deliberations of the Executive Board of the Gdansk Province PZPR Committee: Information on the Course of the Holiday of Labor: Attention Focused on Consumer Affairs: Evaluation of the Work of Party Groups"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] The actions taken in the second half of last year by the leadership of our party for the purpose of the so-called rebuilding of the market or markedly increasing the production of consumer goods were reflected in the resolution of the 10th Central Committee Plenum and subsequently in the practical activities of party organizations and consumer goods enterprises. During the second half of last year as well as this year the province party organization has been devoting considerable attention to these problems /although Gdansk Province has no major consumer goods industry so that market supplies depend only to some extent on local enterprises. Nevertheless, a quantitative increase in the output of Gdansk enterprises as well as the assurance of adequate quality affect our market situation./

This was emphasized at yesterday's session of the Province Committee's Executive Board while assessing this year's economic plans of state-run and cooperative enterprises from the standpoint of quantitative and qualitative improvement in the production of consumer goods as well as of the implementation of the related tasks ensuing from the resolution of the PZPR Province Reports Conference. /The first-quarter results achieved by the consumer goods subsectors indicate that production has risen by from several to several dozen percent./ The targets for the subsequent quarters of this year also envisage an increased production of consumer goods, although that increase will differ in different state-run enterprises. But /so far these enterprises, and the cooperatives as well, have been supplying the market in the absence of programs to improve their production quality, as was critically assessed by the Province Committee's Executive Board./

On examining the program for measures intended to increase output (through the modernization of certain production sections in some 15 economic units, improvements in material supplies and organizational actions), as well as on considering the evolution of the consumer-monetary situation in Gdansk Province, the Province Committee's Executive Board found that:



--the decline in consumer goods production was halted last year and a marked increase in that production is envisaged in the plans for this year, which represents a favorable prediction;

--it is necessary to implement fully the plan assumptions envisaging an increase in consumer goods production this year and overfulfillment of the plans in the event that raw materials are available. Bank credit policies should in this connection consider and promote the efforts being undertaken to assure additional consumer goods production;

--the postulated increase in production at enterprises is made too much contingent on external factors, while at the same time insufficient emphasis is placed on the utilization of the reserves available to the producers. This last factor should be reflected in the conservation programs being currently drafted at enterprises and labor cooperatives so as to assure an additional increase in consumer goods production and hence also improved supplies for the region's population.

As the next item on its agenda /the Executive Board examined the analysis of the performance of the basic organizational cells of party groups as well as the results of action intended to energize them./ Party groups exist within large party organizations, and thus they operate chiefly in the largest plants and enterprises on the Coast. It is an important task--it was stated--to revive the work of these groups; they should also be formed wherever the conditions warrant. For the activism and performance of entire party organizations largely hinge on the quality of work of these groups.

In addition, the Province Committee's Executive Board familiarized itself with the information on the course of this year's celebrations of the 1 May Holiday. Parades took place in 15 cities of Gdansk Province, along with ceremonial meetings in 20 localities, attended by a total of about 300,000 persons. /The 1 May festivities in Gdansk Province demonstrated/--it was stated--/the growing realism and support of working people for the party program and the government's undertakings./ In such a situation /the political opposition failed to accomplish any of its goals,/ namely: the boycott and disruptions of 1 May parades and the organization of counter-parades.

The attempts to disturb law and order following the ending of the parades that were undertaken in Gdansk and Gdynia by organized groups of the political enemy were rapidly liquidated by the forces of order without gaining any broader public support. /The Province Committee's Executive Board expresses its appreciation to those inhabitants of the Coast who--despite the propaganda conducted by the political enemy--took part in 1 May parades and manifestations,/ rebutting the attempts--made in Gdansk and Gdynia--to disturb public tranquility.

The Province Committee's Executive Board also expressed its appreciation of the /forces of order/ which, by their attitude and action--forced upon them by the organizers of street adventures (tearing of red and white-and-red flags, throwing rocks at forces of order, hurling epithets, etc.)--rapidly restored peace.

/The Province Committee's Executive Board stressed in this connection the importance of the tasks ensuing from the need to intensify political-educational tasks within the particularly menaced groups, especially among youth which is most exposed to the propaganda activities of the political opposition.

#### **Executive Board Letter to Party Organizations**

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 12 May 83 p 2

[Letter, Gdansk, 29 April 1983: "Letter of the Executive Board of the Gdansk Province PZPR Committee to Basic Party Organizations and Plant Circles of the Chief Technical Organizations"]

[Text] The implementation of the assumptions of the 1983-1985 Socio-Economic Plan requires an active exploitation of scientific and technical progress.

At the 20th Congress of Polish Technicians the engineer and technician cadre presented a program for participation by the engineering community in surmounting the crisis and solving the most urgent problems of our economy. The huge intellectual potential of the workforces and the engineer cadre and engineering facilities is not being fully exploited. In industry and other branches of the province's economy the share of technical progress, as well as the creative activity of inventors and rationalizers, in solving complex economic problems has declined. An active inventor and rationalizer movement at work establishments may prove particularly valuable to the economy at the present stage. Most projects of inventions are technically adapted to the needs and possibilities of enterprises.

For this reason, worker proposals may provide specific complements to new technological solutions and become as well a source of inspiration for continuing R&D work. Now that we are drafting plant conservation programs, innovations and inventions represent a significant potential at enterprises, which should be at present exploited to intensify the work process and enhance the effectiveness of production.

The Executive Board of the PZPR Province Committee appeals to all basic party organizations (POP) and plant circles of the Chief Technical Organization (NOT) to provide the conditions for surmounting the barriers separating technological innovators and inventors from translating into reality their useful ideas and conceptions. The economic reform provides a number of innovative solutions and possibilities in this respect. The aim should be that all useful inventions and labor-saving ideas should--provided that they are advantageous to the enterprise and society--result in providing appropriate material and moral satisfaction for their authors. This also is the purpose of the revisions of the law on inventions and the implementing regulations.

Energizing the creative activity of employees encouraged by their own successes or those of their co-workers not only produces evident economic effects for the enterprises but also makes work more attractive, enhances emotional commitment

and reveals and fosters capabilities of new employees, particularly young employees.

The Executive Board of the Gdansk Province PZPR Committee places the basic party organizations under the obligation--pursuant to their statutory duty--of reviewing and evaluating the status of innovative and inventive activities at plants and providing the conditions for fostering worker creativity. It is necessary to improve the efficiency of application of proposals through a rational organization of their acceptance and proper selection of topics and manner of their development. This concerns a more rapid application of proposals to production practice and their complete utilization in the economy. A natural ally in implementing these important task is the plant circles of the Chief Technical Organization and the growing Clubs of Technology and Rationalization.

The Executive Board of the PZPR Province Committee appeals to the engineer and technician cadre as well as to inventors for active participation in developing technology and inventions and improving the organization of labor and production, which are a great asset in the struggle to emerge from the economic crisis.

#### Increase of Party Activity Effectiveness

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 8 Jun 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by A. Met.: "Increase the Effectiveness of Party Activities: Consultations Prior to the Plenum of the Gdansk Province PZPR Committee"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /Yesterday was the second day of consultation of the party aktiv prior to the Friday plenary session of the Gdansk party organization. Consultation conferences were held at the Gdynia City PZPR Committee, the Portowa District Party Committee and in Pruszcz Gdanski. The main topic of these conferences was--as we had previously reported--the current tasks of party echelons and organizations, with special consideration of the tasks ensuing from the resolutions of the 12th PZPR Central Committee Plenum. A report on these consultations is published below./

#### At the Portowa District Party Committee

The meeting of the party aktiv of the Gdansk-Portowa District was attended by Stanislaw Bejger, deputy member of the Politburo and first secretary of the Gdansk Province PZPR Committee, and Mieczyslaw Chabowski, first secretary of the Province Committee.

At the outset Stanislaw Bejger discussed the problems ensuing to party work in the current economic and socio-political situation of the province in the light of the resolutions of the 12th PZPR Central Committee Plenum. He stated, among other things, that the plenary session of the province party organization should contribute to further consolidating the party and affirming its leading role.

What matters most at present is strengthening and developing the positive tendencies in socio-political life.

The discussion touched upon, among other things, ways of activating the workforces and strengthening worker self-government as well as the further development of the trade-union movement. It is the moral duty of party members--it was stated--to support trade unions and promote an increase in their membership and strength by supporting their activities in behalf of working people. Attention was also drawn to the need to elevate the level of party training as an ancillary instrument in enhancing the ideological cohesion of party ranks.

#### In Gdynia

The conference, whose participants included delegates to the Province PZPR Reports-Programs Conference and secretaries of plant party organizations, was attended by Mieczyslaw Chabowski, secretary of the Gdansk Province PZPR Committee. Those present were briefed about the course of the 12th Central Committee Plenum and the agenda of the coming plenary deliberations of the province party organization.

The discussion touched upon the need to enhance the effectiveness of the organizational and propaganda activities of the party. The conference participants also drew attention to the fact that the special issue of the monthly 'NOWE DROGI,' containing a report on the work of the Central Committee's commission for elucidating the causes and course of social conflicts in the PRL, will be published only after considerable delay.

Emphasis was placed on the need to further strengthen the ties between the party and the working class, defend socialism against enemies and the actions of the anti-socialist forces in this country and in the West and broaden the participation of PZPR members in the activities of trade unions, worker self-governments and PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] structures. It is necessary--it was stated--to disseminate more effectively the resolutions of the First PRON Congress whose implementations would contribute to the further normalization of socio-political life in the country.

Toward the end of the conference, the floor was taken by Mieczyslaw Chabowski, Province Committee secretary, who discussed the activities of the province party echelon in the recent period and presented the current socio-political situation in the country and abroad.

#### In Pruszcz Gdanski

The consultation meeting was attended by Leon Broncewicz, secretary of the Gdansk Province PZPR Committee, who briefed those present about the materials being prepared for the plenary session of the province party organization.

The participants in the meeting pointed to the need to continue activities intended to further improve party discipline and enhance the activism of party members within their communities. It is extremely important--it was stated--for



PZPR members to broaden their participation in intra-party life and display committed attitudes in their contacts with non-party members. The attitudes of some teachers as well as certain elements of the educational process were criticized, on recognizing that the party cells active in the educational system should focus their attention on this problem.

The discussion also touched upon problems of the nascent trade-union and self-government movement. Efforts should be undertaken--it was stated--to create an appropriate climate in which trade-union and self-government organizations could join more effectively in the processes of the management of work establishments.

#### Executive Board on Trade Union Developments

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 10 Jun 83 p 2

[Article by (mag): "Deliberations of the Executive Board of the Gdansk Province PZPR Committee"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] Yesterday the Executive Board of the Gdansk Province PZPR Committee held a session. /It examined the reports on the performance of self-governments and the development of trade unions in the province and assessed the plant anti-inflation and conservation programs as well as the implementation of the resolution of the Central Committee's Secretariat concerning the party's guidance over the local mass media./

The members of the Executive Board were also briefed about the results of the inspection of the performance of basic and plant party organizations, conducted by the Province PZPR Inspection Commission. After considering the comments and recommendations offered during the session, /the Executive Board confirmed the agenda for the plenary session of the Province Committee./

At present, /of the 317 province enterprises at which--pursuant to the decree--workforce self-government should operate, at 234 enterprises self-government bodies are operating and at 66 additional enterprises preparations are under way to form such bodies./ It is disturbing that not all the self-governments are fully and properly availing themselves of the competences granted to them. Unfamiliarity with regulations is leading to disputes about competences between self-governments and trade unions at certain enterprises. /The Executive Board deemed necessary a broader participation of plant party organizations in the activities of self-governments and the organization of training and propaganda drives intended to familiarize the workforces with the regulations governing these activities./

The Executive Board critically assessed the extent of the application of plant anti-inflation and conservation programs. The party has monitored 200 enterprises and found that not all the programs are adequately relating the planned effects to actual improvements in management, and further that the lucidity of these programs often leaves something to be desired. Also important is /an appropriate meshing of these programs with the socio-economic plans of enterprises for the years 1983-1985./ It was deemed necessary to reassess certain



programs upon consulting scientists, engineers and technicians and to popularize the premises of these programs at work establishments.

After familiarizing themselves with the materials on trade unions, the members of the Executive Board found that—despite certain tangible effects—that development has been slower in Gdansk Province than in other regions of the country. Currently, of the roughly 440,000 persons having the right to join trade unions, 49,000 actually are union members.

/It is also indispensable for party organizations to take more effective steps to create a favorable climate for the rebirth of the trade-union movement,/ which, together with /the self-governments—as was stated during the discussion—is an indispensable element of socialist democracy./

The assessment submitted by the PZPR Province Inspection Commission stressed that recently there has been considerable improvement in /party discipline at basic and plant party organizations, which participate with increasing effectiveness in the solution of the sometimes difficult problems of worker communities./

On the other hand, the quality of the performance of certain small party organizations elicits reservations. It is they that are most often the locales of negligent conduct of party records. The quality of party propaganda at enterprises also was criticized, on stressing, among other things, the need for greater utilization for this purpose of the local plant radio stations and all kinds of billboards and bulletin boards.

/The members of the Executive Board accepted the report, prepared by the Province Committee's Propaganda Department, on the implementation of the resolution of the Central Committee's Secretariat concerning party guidance over the mass media./ They also familiarized themselves with the course of the consultations recognized on 6 and 7 June 83 prior to the plenum of the Gdansk Province PZPR Committee.

#### Plenum on Building National Understanding

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 13 Jun 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by A.J. and M.T.: "In the Desire to Surmount the Crisis and Build a Lasting National Accord" under the rubric "Deliberations of the Plenum of the Gdansk Province PZPR Committee"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /The tasks of the province party organization in the light of the resolutions of the 12th PZPR Central Committee Plenum were the topic of Friday's plenum of the Gdansk Province PZPR Committee. The session, chaired by Stanislaw Bejger, candidate member of the Politburo and first secretary of the Province Committee, was also attended by representatives of the central party authorities, including Politburo member Albin Siwak./

The report of the Province Committee's Executive Board was presented by Mieczyslaw Chabowski, Province Committee secretary.

The first part of that report assessed the current political and economic situation and the second outlined the specific tasks awaiting the party echelons in the very near future.

As the report also stated, / To a large extent we succeeded in overcoming the most difficult stages of the crisis. We repelled the real specter of menace to the national existence, degradation of the economy and disintegration of the society. This became possible owing to the patriotic attitude of a large part of society and the huge effort of the economic and party aktiv with the assistance of the military, the militia and the Security Service./ The results achieved during recent months in the principal branches of our economy point to the persistence of steady growth trends. Industrial production and construction are producing growing effects, the market supply situation is improving and procurements of crops, livestock and milk are rising.

/The coming period will be a time of strengthening the structures of the socialist state, surmounting the crisis in the public mentality, creating a lasting national accord, restoring and reforming the economy and waging a resolute class struggle against the political enemy. To the party this will also be a period of further struggle to strengthen its leading role in the state./ These tasks will have to be accomplished under the difficult conditions of differentiation of the consciousness of discrete social groups and communities.

The most difficult situation--as assessed by the Province Committee's Executive Board--exists among the intelligentsia and school and university youth. The creation of the premises for strengthening the party's authority with the working class and the peasantry is--as stressed in the material discussed--promoted, on the other hand, by such factors as the consistent and principled activity of the province party organization and the growing alleviation of crisis-caused vexations. Further, the report referred to attempts to incite hostile mobs in this country, particularly in Gdansk, by external and internal enemies. It reminded that shipyard workers, dockworkers and other working people on the Coast are tangibly and daily affected by the economic restrictions of the capitalist countries and encounter manifestations of diversionary political information activities. Native opponents of our system of society guide themselves by these instructions and in their challenges they do not hesitate to utilize sacred objects and church festivities. The 1 and 3 May ceremonies in our province proved clearly, however, that the political underground is meeting with difficulties in its support. The positive changes in the public mind and its disapproval of destructive actions are also due to the active political work of party members and the consistent implementation of the line of struggle and accord laid down by the 9th Congress./

In this province 251 elements of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth PRON already are active in all territorial subdivisions. Despite numerous difficulties, class-oriented trade unions also are being reborn. In the 350 unions that have already been registered blue-collar workers account for 70 percent of the membership. Trade-union structures are being formed at more than 70 percent of the province's plants. In addition, worker self-governments are being formed at enterprises and institutions.

In the next few months the activities of party elements and echelons will be tailored to the following four goals: stabilization of society and national accord; preparations for the elections to people's councils and the Parliament; proper preparation of the National Party Conference and reports-elections campaign within the party; and fulfillment of the Three-Year Plan along with the anti-inflation and conservation programs./ The implementation of these goals will require considerable organizational skills and broad knowledge of the entire aktiv. Hence also, concern for the level of the party cadres and aktiv is an urgent task of the 75,000-member party organization in the Gdansk province. The next most important task is rebuilding the party groups and drafting and application of a system for working with them. Possibilities for improving political work also are harbored in the development of the inspiring and organizing role of basic party organizations as well as in streamlining their methods of activity, and also in adapting political tasks to the specific features of discrete milieux and in the stages of the programming, planning and organization of party activity. A special duty of mobilizing all party members and intensifying the activities of the subordinate basic party organizations rests on party echelons, but /the activism of members cannot be confined to attendance of meetings. They should be the leaders in their communities and signalize their presence through neighborhood activism as well as tighten their ties with non-party members through, among other things, broad practical introduction of the forms of open meetings. The party must increasingly effectively oppose evil, injustice and social pathology./

This report was followed by discussion with the participation of: Bogdan Radzi-szewski, plant party committee secretary at the Polish State Railroads [PKP] hub in Gdansk; Zygmunt Slucki, secretary of basic party organization [POP], brigade leader at Gdynia Port Authority; Zbigniew Dziedziuj, chairman of the Plant Board of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth at the Northern Shipyard; Michal Gapa, member of the Province Committee's Executive Board, farmer from Pszczolki; Krzysztof Wesolowski, electrician at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk; Henryk Kubaszewski, secretary of the Sopot City party committee; Zygmunt Ceszke, first secretary of the POP, farmer from Karwinski Blota; Czeslaw Ostrowski, from the Directorate of the District Inspectorate of Energy Management; Jan Turyn, first secretary of the POP at the NEPTUN Leather Industry Works in Wejherowo; Boleslaw Jodzio, plant party committee secretary at the DALMOR Deep-Sea Fishing Enterprise (PPD/UR) in Gdynia; Kazimierz Klein, first secretary of the POP at the Kleszczewo Agricultural Plant; Kazimierz Krefta, secretary of the branch party organization [POP] at the NAUTA Repair Shipyard; Franciszek Potulski, director of the Regional Center of Party Work at Pruszcz Gdanski; Gen Jerzy Andrzejewski, member of the Province Committee's Executive Board, province militia commander; Stefan Milewski, Gdansk province deputy governor; Zbigniew Kowalski, candidate member of the Central Committee, first secretary of the PZPR university committee at the Gdansk Polytechnic; and Jan Labecki, Central Committee member, first secretary of the plant party committee at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk.

In the discussion attention was drawn to many problems of concern to the party community. Several speakers took a position on the text of the documents adopted at the 12th PZPR Central Committee Plenum: while stressing their importance to

party activities, they declared that the assessment of the country's political situation in these documents is too optimistic. The process of the ongoing normalization of public life is, to be sure, evident in many fields, but society is still far from being fully united. For it is to this day internally divided, and this should be borne in mind all the time. It is impermissible to be blind to the menace represented by the domestic opposition as well as by hostile forces in the West which are continually exploiting Polish affairs to exert political pressure on the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community, on solely changing their tactics and the forms and methods of political struggle.

/In such a situation/--it was emphasized--/the party must respond with concrete actions, confirming in daily practice that we are and shall remain a socialist state. It is necessary to build the line of national accord initiated by the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] and to disseminate and stress the idea of friendship with the countries which come to our aid./ The party is at present being particularly watched and evaluated by the entire society. This requires growth of the activism and discipline of its members and discrete organizations, a broader application of party recommendations than in the past and strict accountability for the tasks posed. It is a fundamental duty of the party to influence politically the plant workforces and build the proper atmosphere within particular work communities.

It was postulated that POP executive boards should be provided with opportunities for greater influence on the decisions of plant management, particularly on personnel decisions, and hence also for enhancing the importance of POPs. There is still a discernible lack of familiarity, particularly among rural party organizations, with statutory provisions, basic resolutions and even the fundamental Marxist-Leninist theory.

/It was claimed that the struggle to break the back of the political crisis is also being waged in the sphere of the economy and that, by acting in that field more concretely and effectively, the party must gain credibility and power while at the same time contributing to an improvement in the wellbeing of society./ This concerns all party members, who should resolutely react to any manifestation of waste and poor management and be personally committed to the introduction of conservation and anti-inflation programs at their workplaces and also contribute to elevating the party's authority through their exemplary work and attitude in occupational and professional life, providing an example to be emulated. /The plant party organizations play an essential role in the establishment of trade-union structures and the support and strengthening of self-government movement at enterprises./

Stefan Milewski, the Gdansk Province deputy governor, took a position on some of the problems and postulates voiced during the discussion. He spoke of, among other things, the implementation of the decree on work shirkers and the allocation of equipment and bank loans in the food sector, devoting most of his comments to the problems of housing construction.

Other discussants at the plenary forum also touched upon matters relating to the explanation of social conflicts in the history of the PRL. An analysis of



these phenomena has been--as known--undertaken by a specially appointed Central Committee commission. The recent stage of the work of that commission and the course of the discussion of the report it had submitted were discussed by Zbigniew Kujawski, candidate member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the PZPR University Committee at the Gdansk Polytechnic.

The plenary discussion, which had lasted several hours, was closed with the speech by Albin Siwak, Politburo member. The speaker took a position on the principal ideas contained in the report of the Executive Board, stating that it reflects the principal problems of the country's present social and political situation. The growing normalization of that situation has not as yet liquidated the deep internal divisions within our society. The heterogeneity of political attitudes and convictions pervades all groups, including the working class as well. This nourishes the domestic opposition and the Western circles desirous of exacerbating the political struggle in Poland.

Next, A. Siwak discussed at some depth the complex whole of the aspects of the relations between the state and the Church. Further, regarding economic problems, he devoted most attention to agricultural policy and housing construction. He reminded the audience that both these fields lie in the focus of interest of the authorities. This is demonstrated by the fact that the annual budget allocates 30 percent apiece for these two domains. A. Siwak ended his speech by discussing the tasks of party members, pointing to the role of the renascent class-oriented trade unions.

Following Albin Siwak's speech, the plenum unanimously adopted a resolution whose text is published below.

As the next item on its agenda, organizational matters, the Province Committee's Executive Board asked that Andrzej Karnabal be recalled from the post of member of the Executive Board and secretary of the Province Committee, in compliance with his request. By secret balloting, Bohdan Daszkiewicz was unanimously elected member of the Executive Board and secretary of the Province Committee.

The Province Committee Plenum also approved the Executive Board's recommendations for appointing the following persons as directors of the following province committee departments: Jozef Bryll, Organizational Department; Zygmunt Kolodziej, Economic Department; Edmund Matowski, Propaganda Department; and Zygryd Mielew-czyk, Science and Education Department.

#### Resolution of the Gdansk Province PZPR Committee Concerning the Implementation of Tasks Following the 12th Central Committee Plenum

The Gdansk Province PZPR Committee, after familiarizing itself with the report of its Executive Board and the recommendations made during the discussion, approves their assessments of the socio-political situation in the province as well as of the current status of the province party organization.

The Province Committee accepts the tasks contained in the report of its Executive Board with respect to the scope of activities of POP/OOP and party members in the political and organizational sphere for the immediate future.



The Province Committee finds that political and socio-economic stabilization is progressing in Gdansk Province. This was reflected by the broad participation of the society in the Labor Holiday festivities, the halting of the decline in the output of goods and services and the opposition to attempts to disturb public order. We are achieving this situation thanks to the greater activism of our party and the patriotic and civic attitude of a majority of the society with the active support of the Polish People's Army, the Citizens' Militia and the Security Service.

The Province Committee finds that the party's ranks are growing stronger, as reflected in the halting of the decline in the membership of the Gdansk party organization, the consolidation of the party's ranks and the growing activism of the POPs and party members. The perpetuation of these trends requires further energizing of the party members of the province party organization.

The Province Committee undertakes to implement the resolutions of the 12th PZPR Central Committee Plenum and accordingly it obligates party echelons and organizations as well as all party members to carry out the following tasks:

IN THE SPHERE OF IDEOLOGICAL AND PROPAGANDA WORK the paramount task is the defense and strengthening of socialism, the struggle against domestic and foreign enemies of socialism and the intensification of ideological activity by means of:

1. A penetrating appraisal by the party echelons and POPs of the actions taken so far during 1982-1983;
2. Drafting, by the party echelons, of a program of ideological-upbringing measures for the year 1983/1984;
3. Further renewal of the aktiv and lecturer cadres through the establishment of a party cadre training center;
4. Reactivation and improvement in the performance of plant centers for information, propaganda and culture;
5. Dissemination of the achievements of the Polish worker movement in various forms;
6. Creative development of the accomplishments of the First Province Ideological Conference and assessment of the implementation of the schedule of activities and the tasks concerned;
7. Undertaking propaganda and agitation to promote the shaping of attitudes and views contributing to normalization, national rebirth and accord on the soil of the principles of the socialist state.
8. Improving the quality of information, and particularly of party and political publicistics, from the standpoint of both content and form.

IN THE SPHERE OF POLITICAL-ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITY the goal should be the further strengthening and growth of the activism and discipline of the province party organization by means of:

1. Evaluation of the activism of individual party members and verification of the manner in which they implement party recommendations;
2. Ongoing assessment of the socio-political situation and, against this background, rapid and consistent response to any manifestations of negative phenomena in the province's socio-political and economic life;
3. Active work to further create and develop the trade-union movement. The active participation of party members in that movement should be a major criterion for evaluating their individual attitudes;
4. Energizing the work of the party members active in local self-government bodies and representative bodies;
5. Taking steps to promote the quantitative and qualitative development of the province party organization;
6. Continuing the work to reactivate party groups wherever statutory requirements are met;
7. Active participation of party members in the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth in behalf of broadening the social base of that movement;
8. Energizing neighborhood work by delegating to TOP [Territorial Party Organizations] activists from plant party organizations as well as comrades who are not gainfully employed;
9. Energizing the work of problem commissions at party echelons of all levels and utilizing more broadly the help of their members in political work at TOP in the work community and neighborhood.;
10. Altering the organizational structure of local party echelons so as to adapt it to the needs of the party's operative action on location;
11. Appointing party teams within socio-occupational organizations, inclusive of youth party-work groups.

IN THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC SPHERE, action should be taken to improve the living conditions of the society by means of:

1. Improving the effectiveness of our activities in combatting evil, social pathology and waste as well as in struggling for the principles of social justice. The Province Committee's Executive Board and local party echelons should be briefed about the results of the related activities by province governors, mayors, city and gmina heads and the directors of the appropriate institutions.

2. Supporting, strengthening and developing the self-government movement in state-run enterprises as well as cooperative self-government as a major element of the economic reform;

3. Continuing political and organizational action until the economic reform is completely introduced, application and refinement of incentive systems, organization of labor, growth of labor productivity, and broadening of the movement for economical management and labor-saving ideas and inventions;

4. Measures to be taken by party echelons and organizations in order to monitor consistently and systematically the implementation of the schedules of the plant conservation and anti-inflation programs.

The PZPR Province Committee places its Executive Board under the obligation of examining in detail the proposals made during the discussion at the plenum and determining the manner of their implementation.

[Inset: A Short Biography of Bohdan Daszkiewicz, with photo]

Bohdan Daszkiewicz was born in 1941 in Vilnius to a working-class family. In 1945 he moved together with his parents to Gdansk where his father took a job at the Gdansk Shipyard. Upon completing secondary school in 1950 he began to work as a machinery installer at the Northern Shipyard.

He was successively promoted to foreman, deputy department head, department head and director of the Transport Section. In 1972 he joined the party. While occupationally active, he at the same time took an active part in party and public life and attended the Higher School of Social Sciences.

Since 1975 he has been member of the PZPR Plant Committee at the Northern Shipyard, and since 1 May 1980 he has been first secretary of the plant committee. He was a member of the Central Pre-Congress Commission and a delegate to the 18th Province Reports-Elections Conference.

He is a member of the Plenum of the Province Committee as well as of the Gdansk-Portowa PZPR District Committee. He has been decorated with the Silver and Gold Cross of Merit for his accomplishments at work and as a public activist.

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POLAND

OLSZTYN PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Propaganda, Agitation Party Department

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 3 May 83

[Article by Stanislaw Jermakowicz: "A Critical View of Fundamentals"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /The field trip of the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the PZPR Province Committee--taken to the territory of a basic-level party echelon--could be termed an inspection trip, an audit, a briefing trip, or a confrontation of intentions with reality, but it would be more suitable to define it as an encounter, a talk, an exchange of views, discussion or assistance. At least such was the nature of yet another such trip, one of several made this year, which was made to Ostreda./

It began at the PZPR Gmina Committee with the presentation of party organizations by their secretaries and Regional Center for Party Work (ROPP) activities by the director and deputy director of the ROPP. The reports were lucid, lacking bombast and rather focusing on weaknesses. Below are some excerpts from these reports.

Zygmunt Paprotny, first secretary of the gmina party committee: The activism of the basic party organization (POP) has grown somewhat without reattaining its pre-1980 level. Meetings are not being held in accordance with the bylaws. There also exist some POPs which restrict themselves to one or two meetings per year. Pursuant to the resolution of the recent conference mentioning the need to tighten contacts between the gmina party committee and the POPs, every POP was assigned a mentor from among the members of the committee's executive board. Thanks to this, the activities of the POPs have somewhat improved, but still are far from satisfactory.... One-hundred percent attendance at plenary sessions of the committee and conferences of the secretaries has not yet been recorded....The entire ideological work is still beset by strong shortcomings. We simply have to resort to duress in order to get people to attend the training courses for lecturers conducted by the ROPP. Participation in universal party training is non-uniform and inconsistent. In the countryside this training is held only in winter. During the field work season, farmers do not attend meetings. Teachers display

little commitment to party work, although they are best-prepared for it. They instead work overtime at their professional duties and earn extra pay.

Zbigniew Gratewski, first secretary of the Ostroda city PZPR committee: The problem-oriented commissions of the committee already perform well in principle. The economic commission is the most active one. Attendance at city party committee meetings averages 70-80 percent and at conferences of POP secretaries, about 60 percent--hence meetings are organized at other times for the absentees. The elections of the secretaries and executive boards of the POPs, which had been held during a critical period, were not always well-organized. The newly elected officers were persons who agreed to be nominated rather than the most suitable persons....The situation is at its worst at the smaller organizations. The comrades belonging to them attend joint training courses for two or three POPs at a time. But it is difficult to organize the meetings, and the attendance varies....

Jan Samulski, deputy director of the ROPP: The Regional Center of Party Work in Ostroda serves the party organizations of the city and four gminas [parishes]: Ostroda, Dabrowno, Grunwald and Milemlyn. Its duties are performed by two salaried employees (director and deputy director) and volunteer aktiv....It offers WUML [evening university of Marxism-Leninism] and lecturer training for PZPR candidate members and recent members as well as courses in various specialties (economic subjects, economic reform, trade unions, self-governments, the conservation and anti-inflation program). It provides assistance in implementing tasks of universal education....The principal shortcoming of training courses for the POPs, especially the rural ones, is their low attendance and the relatively unattractive manner of transmitting information.

Jan Antochowski, director of the ROPP: Owing to the telex facility, there is almost daily flow of topical party information from the Center to the major enterprises such as the Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Plants (ZNTK), the Meat Works and the Machine and Tractor Station (POM) in Ostroda. The POPs also receive various kind of publications via "Ruch" [an organization for distributing newspapers and periodicals] and the mail as well as on occasion of conferences and meetings attended by secretaries....Considerable information also is provided by the local bulletin, 'ZIEMIA OSTRODZKA,' published since last January.

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This preliminary briefing is followed by an attempt to obtain insight into daily practice through a team examination of the methods and forms of activities of the ROPP, participation in meetings and visits to the local POPs, chiefly within the gmina itself. The field trips are made to both the organizations enjoying a strong reputation and the weak ones.

I decided to select the meeting at the Ostroda POM, convened at 1500 hours. It is to be attended by Marian Ceynowa, the chairman of the Province Committee's Ideological Commission, Antoni Tyszkiewicz from the Department of Propaganda and Agitation of the Province Committee, Zygmunt Paprotny and Jan Samulski. In the large room the scanty audience is seated on a single row of chairs. Of the 26 members only 12 are present. And yet the meeting had been scheduled in advance and everyone promised that he would attend. A moment of delay...first secretary



Jan Sobczynski frequently glances in the direction of the door. Vain hopes. Thus, he opens the meeting. It turns out that it is not the first time the meeting is poorly attended. Members of the POP's executive board also absent themselves and for this reason it does not hold meetings. The meetings end without any binding decisions, owing to the absence of a quorum. Everything shows that the crisis in that organization persists and grows worse. Recently two more persons had surrendered their party cards. The persisting divisions within the workforce apparently affect the POP too. These divisions appear to be traceable to the era of Solidarity, which had been strongly implanted at the POM. Thus there is a need for political work from the ground up, for a patient explanation of the rationale for the socialist state. But who will do it, considering that the POP has not yet coped with its own internal problems? Yet the situation requires of the organization that it recover its efficiency as soon as possible on resorting to the means indicated by the principles of party discipline specified in the statute. Antoni Tysskiewicz stated: "If we want to have a party of struggle and renewal, we must have in it members who support this."

The meeting opened with a briefing on the current political situation presented by Jan Samulski. It was a concise yet comprehensive briefing, rich in facts and providing an idea of what is happening in the country. The information presented included figures on the growth of the new trade-union movement and the attempts to disturb the ongoing normalization of public life, undertaken on 13 April by the Solidarity underground in certain larger Polish cities. The dangers harbored in the enemy's plans also were described. In a word, it was practical information, without glossing over anything. It is only a pity that not all the POP members were present to hear it. The absentees may later complain about not being sufficiently informed—as comments by party members indeed indicate.

The next and major item on the agenda of the POP's meeting was matters relating to the drafting of the plant conservation and anti-inflation program. The directions of action intended to enhance efficiency of management were discussed by the POM's director Jerzy Chybowski, who at the same time pointed out that various drives anticipating, as it were, the goals of the program have already been carried out at the plant.

Since last year the steam from the boiler room has been used on a closed-circuit basis which augmented the boiler room's capacity and made it possible to serve the new urban transit works. The "Gaz" automotive engine has been converted to a high-pressure design such that it now burns 13 instead of 25 liters of gasoline per 100 km. In transport, the tractor has been replaced with a Kamaz [Kama Automotive Plant, USSR] truck, which also has yielded substantial savings. The production of complete sets of implements for tractor-drawn plows is being introduced under the program of co-production with the agricultural factory in Grudziadz (trial shipments have already been accepted by the customer).

Cooperation with the Dobre Miasto WARFAMA Agricultural Equipment Factory also is developing, with the POM co-producing manure-loader frames for that factory. Lastly, it was concluded that enterprises which have in the past operated efficiently and attained relatively high productivity find it more difficult at present to identify additional latent potential for exploitation, although it still exists at the POM, being harbored primarily in the organization and

discipline of labor and the utilization of work time and materials. However, there are problems in recruiting additional personnel, because other enterprises are "buying up" manpower by offering higher pay. Thus, given these pressures on the labor market, it is not easy to introduce models of good work. Zygmunt Paprotny commented on this: "After all it is you yourselves who exert this pressure by expanding employment instead of looking for the needed direct production workers among yourselves. At your factory there is one clerical employee to every four or even three blue-collar workers...."

This was followed by interesting discussion on ways of surmounting the economic crisis. Unfortunately, only the guests, the POM director and the first secretary of the POP engaged in this discussion. The remaining participants in the meeting just looked on. It would be worthwhile to present the gist, at least, of several of the attendant conclusions: good management should be assured by adjusting the economic instruments both at the central level and at the enterprise level so that responsibility could be pinpointed; too often the plants are chiefly concerned with the issue of just division of funds rather than with the issue of working so as to operate in the black; the abilities of individuals should be discussed openly with them and wages should be paid for the work actually done; too much energy is expended on conferences, training, course-conferences and paperwork, and too little on exploring practical ways and means of organizing production at particular workstations and eliminating the bottlenecks to higher output, lower consumption of materials and reduced costs.

The practice of evaluating the performance of plants by comparing it with previous year's results promotes the concealment of reserves dictated by the fear of condemnation by superior organizations next year in the event that all the possibilities are not exploited this year. Hence, the evaluation should chiefly consider whether a plant is fully exploiting its possibilities. Let us also add to the above assessments the instance cited by Marian Ceynowa: the Ostroda Agricultural Construction Enterprise (PBRol), of which he is director, has a productivity that is 62 percent above the province-wide average for construction enterprises. Hence enterprises with a low productivity level harbor greater latent potential and if they only would approach the PBRol in productivity, their economic results would improve tangibly.

Following the visits to the plants, the second half of the field session of the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the PZPR Province Committee was held in the offices of the Gmina party committee. It started with the presentation of a report on visits to POP meetings and meetings with the POP executive boards at, among others, the Ostroda State Farm and its repair-and-construction department, the Ostroda Branch of the Seed Growing Center, the Rural Transport Cooperative, the Gmina Cooperative, the Combined Gmina School and the District Dairy Cooperative (OSM). The visitors met with both constructive examples demonstrating proper preparations for surmounting the impasse and disturbing examples demonstrating inertia and requiring intensified work on the part of the Gmina party committee.

The examination of the functioning of the ROPP showed that the Center's plan of operations is synchronized with the measures of the province party echelon and its program, geared to training the PZPR cadre, serves to strengthen the foun-

dations of the party. On the other hand, the implementation of this recognizably good program exists in a stage which could be defined as the beginning of the road. Interesting attempts to make party training more attractive are under way, but the education of candidate members still remains unsuccessful owing to poor attendance, and elementary education is poorly organized. Attendance discipline as regards higher-level education also varies.

The presentation of reports was followed by discussion. /The first secretary of the gmina party committee asks bitterly how can the ideological work of the gmina party organization be revived considering that the committee's salaried staff consists only of two secretaries and there is not even one technical functionary, while the *aktyw* behaves at times as if it were non-existent. His questions stem from impatience, from the desire to surmount rapidly the obstacles engendered by the Polish political whirlwind, from discontent with one's own performance. Hence the discussion drifted toward the need to require of the POPs they follow the basic principles entailed in belonging to the party, and particularly party discipline, considering that discipline is the foundation for the flexibility and aggressiveness of any organization./

Czesław Kisły, deputy director of the Province Committee's Agitation and Propaganda Department, declared: "Ideological work at present is not easy, but one should not be put off by the first failures. The political enemy has influenced the minds of people, including party members who would seem to have had firm views. /Hence sometimes persuasion has to be begun anew from the ground up. And candidate members must attend training courses so that they can decide earlier whether the PZPR is for them. Mechanical admission of new party members leads to the same old mistakes in the form of fortuitous and inexpedient selection of members. And consider the comment by Andrzej Mordziersz, director of the Propaganda and Agitation Department: The *aktyw* surely exists in this gmina but it may be enfeebled and exhausted and living under a stress. Experience suggests that an effective medicine for such ailments is often provided by inspiration and encouragement to work./ The causes of the shortcomings in party training should also be traced to the fact that some lecture to crowded rooms and others to nearly empty rooms. It is simply that, insofar as possible, candidates for lecturers should be selected among gifted individuals."

The results of the field trip will serve to formulate conclusions for presentation to the concerned persons.

#### Plenum on Economizing, Anti-Inflation Programs

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 11-12 Jun 83 p 3

[Article by Bogdan Miller: "Assessing the Implementation of the Conservation and Anti-Inflation Program" under the rubric "Plenum of the PZPR Province Committee in Olsztyn"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /The assessment of the work on plant conservation and anti-inflation programs was the topic of last Friday's plenary session of the PZPR Province Committee. The deliberations, which

were attended by Stanislaw Gebala, director of the Economic Department under the PZPR Central Committee, were inaugurated and chaired by Jan Laskowski, first secretary of the Province Committee. The participants in the discussion included not only the members of the province party echelon and representatives of the Province Audit Commission (WKR) and the Voivodship Party Control Committee but also invited managerial and self-government aktiv from work establishments. The introductory report of the Province Committee's Executive Board was presented by Jan Laskowski./

The efforts of the party organizations and echelons in the last 3 months have been focused on implementing the tasks imposed on them by the government decision to introduce the conservation and anti-inflation programs. The time has now come to assess what has been done so far, as well as to outline further action. The party appreciates the crucial importance of the socio-economic policy and has, through the decisions of the 10th Central Committee Plenum, defined both programs as the prerequisite and instrument for implementing that policy. The 12th Central Committee Plenum has decisively affirmed its importance.

The province party echelon as from the outset been taking specific steps in its own province to popularize the text of the programs and mobilize party organizations to act as inspirers. These ends were promoted by the conference of the worker aktiv and managerial cadre last April. Appropriate subjects were included in the programs for course and lecturer training organized by the Ideological-Upbringing Work Department, the Provincial Center for Ideological Indoctrination (WOKI) and the Regional Party Work Centers (ROPPs). The work to draft plant conservation and anti-inflation programs was done with the participation of large numbers of people representing the management and the socio-political and technical organizations functioning at enterprises. And wherever everyone approached the subject responsibly and in accordance with the requirements of the economic reform, the programs drafted were specific and contained detailed assumptions and ways of implementing them. Positive instances of such programs include those of the Olsztyn Tire Plant (OZOS), the Szczynienski LENPOL Northern Linen Industry Works, the WARFAMA Warmia Farm Machinery Factory in Dobre Miasto and the Morag MZPS [expansion unknown]. The proper cooperation between party organizations and plant self-governments at the Ketrzyn FAREL [expansion unknown], the Olsztyn Engineering Works Enterprise (PEI) and the Olsztyn Meat Works deserves emphasis. Unfortunately—as stressed in the report—the subject has not been approached everywhere responsibly and with understanding. It is interesting that this applies in particular to state farms, for example, the Zalewo, Barciany, Skandawa and Milakowo state farms. Another disturbing problem is the excessively low active participation of workers in all aspects of the conservation and anti-inflation programs.

The drafting of conservation measures was also done with the participation of bank representatives, who critically appraised these measures from the financial standpoint.

Further, the report assessed other aspects of the programs, on dividing economic organizations and plants into three groups. The first and extremely large group



is that in which the implementation of properly drafted tasks has already been commenced. The second group contains those organizations and plants whose programs have to be revised and particularized in the form of operating schedules and ultimate quantitative targets. As for the third group, within it the delays in work on program topics are the greatest; it includes a large part of cooperative organizations.

One already tangible result of the creation of conservation and anti-inflation programs has been the verification of production goals for 1983. Admittedly, there are enterprises which have increased their plan targets, but there also are some that reduced them. It is a fact that the search for economies has become universal and that it is producing effects in the form of the desire to reduce costs, increase production for export and the consumer market and improve labor productivity and the effectiveness of food management. Negative aspects, which are not considered in most programs, include the absence of measures to: improve the structure of employment (exceptions: the OZOS and the plants in Warmia and Ketrzyn); link economizing actions to wages; augment the goods available to agriculture (in addition to traditional plants); and stabilize overhead costs while at the same time increasing the utilization of productive capacity. In some cases there also exist doubts as to the feasibility of the anticipated results, especially considering that the performance of enterprises has been assessed by banks that grant them only short-term credit, no long-term credit. The phenomenon of impermissible financial manipulations exploiting loopholes in the report was assessed as intolerable—the report stressed. This concerns in particular concealing the cost of an enterprise's own poor management behind jacked-up prices.

The final part of the report specified the tasks burdening the party in the very near future in connection with the implementation of program policies. In addition to acting as an inspirer, the party must increasingly often act as a monitor. During the second half of the year, too, the commitment of the workforces to fulfilling targets and plans must be maintained at a high level. Lastly, cooperation with worker councils and trade unions must be continued in order to improve the operating conditions of enterprises. The report concluded that the programs exist and their results will be measured by progress in fulfilling the province's economic plan.

The next item on the agenda was a report on the progress made in drafting province and local anti-inflation and conservation programs, presented by deputy province governor Henryk Baranowski.

The deputy governor declared: "It so happens that we are almost on the eve of the voting on the province socio-economic plan. This plan, of course, takes into account the great importance of both the conservation and the anti-inflation programs. The situation at present is such that the drafting of programs of the local administrative authorities is being completed. These programs contain directive targets, because specific targets are set by the enterprises themselves. The province program also provides guideposts on conservation policies as regards improving the productive utilization of land and the production of crops and livestock, the utilization of fuels and energy, efficient utilization of building materials, manpower, etc. Agriculture and construction



dominate the subsector structure. Considerable attention is also devoted to communal services and health service."

He continued: "The economic reforms has unfortunately produced no results as regards streamlining employment. Hence the the province authorities are interested in assuring the employment of work shirkers, restoring the jobs of old-age pensioners in occupations that are in demand and, lastly, and perhaps most importantly, restructuring employment."

In conclusion, the deputy governor declared: "The main directions of the province program are flexible and can be revised as the situation develops. A highly important task at present is to reach the entire society about the assumptions of this program. Then also its implementation will be greatly facilitated."

#### Discussion

In the discussion the importance of the conservation and anti-inflation programs to the effectiveness of management was emphasized. The conservation program does not refer to materials, energy and fuel alone. It also refers to better and more productive work, common and exerted effort of the entire workforce and, lastly, increase in output without added investments. This approach was presented by Marianna Pluta, chairperson of the Worker Council at the Warmia Clothing Plants (ZPO) in Ketrzyn. It was also presented by Province Committee member Adolf Teresiak from the District Enterprise of Meat Industry in Olsztyn. He furthermore touched upon the problem of the structure of employment, or more properly speaking of reducing employment in the non-production sphere. Andrzej Niemczewski, director of the LENPOL Works in Szczytno, described the work on drafting the program, thus providing as it were a drafting methodology. The evaluation of the programs at the Ostroda ZNTK was the subject of the speeches by Jacek Wozniak of the ZNTK, a member of the quality control team of the Olsztyn enterprises, and Edward Tomkiewicz, director of the Supreme Chamber of Commerce (NIK) branch in Olsztyn, who stressed that "the evaluation of the programs from the standpoint of the inspecting organization does not end with the draft stage. For there still remains the most important thing to the economy--the implementation of the programs."

It is incontestable that the conservation and anti-inflation programs are a requirement of the economic reform. In this connection, the considerable variation in the extent of the preparedness of these programs at different work establishments is highly alarming. This was reflected in the comment by Rajmund Smiech, Province Committee member from the Wichrowo Main Forestry District. He at the same time appealed for help to the enterprises utilizing timber in their production. For if that timber is left in the forest instead of being utilized immediately, it will simply decay and become scarce in the subsequent years. And we cannot afford such waste.

The problem of the profitability of conservation to workforces was raised by Marian Augustynowicz, chairman of the Worker Council at the Dobre Miasto WARPANA. He declared that this issue surfaced in all discussions of the program. People want to know what they will get in exchange for the effort invested in implementing the conservation tasks. The solution of this problem may activate con-

siderable latent potential. He also described specific examples of the functioning of a mechanism of the economic reform such that the conservation-caused cost reduction results in a zero or even negative effect to the plant. He further added: "We have the opportunity to produce added output worth 250 million zlotys. The needed outlays require a bank loan of 15 million. But the bank refused to grant us the loan. We will thus need 2 years to acquire sufficient funds of our own in order to introduce this added production. Yet this is production for agriculture. Is that consonant with the principles of the reform?"

Production problems were also discussed by Marian Kochalski, Director of Olsztyn Graphic Works where, in its turn, the full implementation of the program for increasing output while at the same time reducing costs requires rehiring skilled workers who had retired earlier on old-age pension under the new law. But this requires a general listing of scarce occupations to be prepared by the province authorities. Another director, Ryszard Pioro of the Olsztyn STOMIL Tire Plants, discussed in detail STOMIL's conservation program. In that case, too, the obstacles to its fulfillment are considerable, particularly considering that it is slated to yield savings of more than 400 million zlotys. Among these obstacles he enumerated the familiar employment problems, the improper ratio between domestic prices of raw materials and the prices of the same materials when imported, and lastly the incomplete roster of official prices.

The voices of farmers also were not lacking at the plenum. Both private farmers, such as Bernard Kochanski, Province Committee Member, of Tulodziad, and Otton Kempa of Skajbot (Barczewo Gmina [parish]) and state-farm employees such as Leslaw Buraczek, first secretary of the plant party committee at the LYSA Agricultural Combine near Szczytno, raised the issue of the profitability of agricultural production and the shortages of the materials and means needed for that production.

The final comments from the audience included those of Tadeusz Zatorski, Province Committee member and chief of the Construction Operations Department of the PKP (Polish State Railroads) in Ketrzyn, and Bogdan Przybylak, member of the PZPR Province Committee. Both dealt with various aspects of properly conceived conservation.

Tadeusz Sawicz, deputy director of the Province Branch of the National Bank of Poland (NBP) and deputy governor Henryk Baranowski took the floor to answer directly some of the problems raised in the discussion.

Ending the plenary debate, Stanislaw Gebala, director of the Economics Department of the party Central Committee, took the floor. He stated, among other things, that the 10th Central Committee Plenum supported the second variant of the Three-Year Plan, because it assures restoring the economic equilibrium by 1985. "But this involves certain constraints which we can overcome by implementing the programs discussed here today. These include the shortages of certain raw and other materials needed to assure the planned increase in output. This has to be offset precisely through conservation and improvements in quality. Further, no increase in employment in production is to be expected in the next few years, but an increase in the sphere of services can be expected. In view of this, the existing reserves should be utilized by means of, among other things,

an effective utilization of work time. The situation in foreign trade and investments also is important: this is where the Three-Year Plan had to be made more realistic by modifying the very principles of the reform as well as introducing the conservation and anti-inflation programs."

Discussing the economic situation after the first 5 months of this year, S. Gebala stressed the progressing stabilization of the economy and the increasingly more realistic prospects for halting the decline in the real incomes of society. He concluded: "We must subordinate all our efforts to this goal. Hence the unambiguous appreciation of the importance of economic problems by the 12th Central Committee Plenu, which emphasized the need for the party to take over full initiative in socio-political and economic issues. Hence also the tremendous responsibility resting on us all, and hence also the duty of quickening the activities of all party elements and members."

The plenum adopted a resolution which is printed separately in this issue.

The last item on the agenda of the plenary deliberations dealt with organizational matters: the new secretary of the Province Committee's Agricultural Department was elected: it was comrade Grzegorz Nowicki.

#### Plenum Resolution

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 11-12 Jun 83 p 3

[Resolution of 10 Jun 82 of the Olsztyn Province PZPR Committee: "Resolution of the Olsztyn Province PZPR Committee Concerning the Anti-Inflation and Conservation Programs"]

[Text] The Olsztyn Province PZPR Committee hereby resolves that:

1. The plant and local anti-inflation and conservation programs are a particularly important safeguard for the feasibility of the social tasks relating to the 1983-1985 Three-Year Plan.
2. Considering the results of the discussion, the Committee approves the assessments and recommendations contained in the reports of its Executive Board and the Olsztyn province governor.
3. The current stage of the preparation and adoption of anti-inflation and conservation programs in the Olsztyn Province has produced varying results which in most cases point to continuing progress in the socio-political life of plants, enterprises, local administration and budget units.
4. During the stage of the preparation of anti-inflation and conservation programs the activity of party organizations and echelons, managerial personnel, self-governments at state-run and cooperative enterprises and socio-occupational societies—particularly the Chief Technical Organization (NOT), the Polish Economic Society (PTE), the Scientific Society of Organization and Administration (TNOiK) and the Association of Bookkeepers—has grown markedly. The renascent

trade-union movement is strengthening its positions in the interest of working people.

## I

To attain further improvements in the socio-political and economic situation of Olsztyn Province, the Province Committee resolves upon the following tasks:

1. During the month of June the work on the anti-inflation and conservation programs should be completed in all organizational units, i.e. enterprises, plants, cooperatives offices and budget units, in Olsztyn Province. All programs must be feasible and effective. The programs adopted so far should be properly complemented if they anticipated directions of action are expedient but measurable quantities are not specified.
2. Pursuant to the mandatory legal procedure, the responsibility for preparing the anti-inflation and conservation programs is borne by the management of enterprises and institutions, boards of cooperatives, and heads of local administration.
3. The programs are voted upon correspondingly by worker councils at state enterprises, cooperative councils, people's councils or other organs of authority.
4. The party organizations and echelons of the PZPR have the duty of acting as inspirers for the proper preparation of and voting upon the programs as well as of improving the incentive systems so that these would motivate workers to implement these programs while at the same time implementing the whole of the socio-economic tasks.
5. PZPR members, particularly those holding high-level posts—at enterprises plants, local administrative offices, budget units, banks, the Treasury Chamber and treasury offices, the District Offices, the Olsztyn branch of the NIK and other elements of the system of state and social control—are obligated to excel in their jobs and direct the activities of organizational units in such a manner as to promote the attainment of the goals of the anti-inflation and conservation programs.
6. In the second half of 1983 the paramount task of organizational units is to implement the plan tasks as supported by anti-inflation and conservation programs. The accomplishment of this goal should be promoted by internal and external control exercised by the organs of authority voting upon the programs and the elements of the system of inspecting institutions. Control functions will be undertaken and exercised by party organizations and echelons. Political control of the implementation of the adopted socio-economic plans and programs should be exercised by the basic party organizations (POP) and party echelons.

## II

1. The Olsztyn Province PZPR Committee appeals to the entire society of Olsztyn Province, to the working people of town and country, for broad, specific and



effective support of the party's policy serving to surmount the crisis. The participation of the entire society in implementing the anti-inflation and conservation programs is an indispensable prerequisite for the further normalization of socio-economic and political life.

2. The Province Committee wishes to acknowledge and express its deepest gratitude to all workers, farmers, engineers, technicians, the intelligentsia, and individuals who contributed to drafting the programs and on the whole implementing the socio-economic tasks of Olsztyn Province during the first 5 months of 1983.

3. The Province Committee recommends to the editorial boards of the Olsztyn press and the Polish Radio and Television that they popularize the effects of the implementation of the anti-inflation and conservation programs as well as the authors and executors of these programs. This popularization should mobilize economic organizations and institutions to undertake rationalizing projects and provide satisfaction to those who undertake such actions.

### III

1. The Province Committee's Executive Board will, at the plenary session of the Province Committee in the 4th quarter of 1983, submit information on the implementation of this Resolution and the adopted anti-inflation and conservation programs in Olsztyn Province.

2. The Secretariat of the Province Committee is placed under the obligation of considering within the present month the recommendations made during the discussion. These recommendations should be regarded as a component element of the productive results of the plenary sessions of the Province Committee.

3. All party echelons are hereby obligated to collect comments and proposals regarding those reform solutions which hamper efficient management, while the Province Committee obligates itself to transmit them for utilization to the central level.

1386

CSO: 2600/1038



PROVINCIAL WORKERS' SELF-GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES NOTED

Poznan Plants Developing Self-Government Activities

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 20 Jun 83 p 2

[Article by mw: "Self-Government in Action"]

[Text] The initial phase of organizing self-government among smot of Poznan's factory crews is over. In some plants self-government was created on the basis of the 25 Sept 1981 Sejm resolution and has functioned for over a year, in others daily statutory activity has continued only for several months.

At Poznan's Lechia cosmetics plant the last meeting of the work council was devoted to an appraisal of the plant's anti-inflation and material savings programs. A principle has been accepted that, due to the limited capability for making investments, all material savings actions will be taken first in areas that do not require financial expenditure. Considered as most valuable at this stage are all suggestions that can be implemented by their originators. Often these are simple technological or organizational changes that can be put into use immediately.

The last meeting of the work council, in which representatives of groups active in the management, the political, and social fields took part, was also devoted to appraising the progress of the socioeconomic plan at the plant.

In the near future the council is planning to hold a meeting at the plant's family vacation center in the village of Pilka-Mlyn near Oborniki Wielkopolskie. The original plan for managing this center, worked out in the early 1970's, has proved unrealistic due to economic reasons. A new concept is needed.

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Once a month the work council at Powogaz, the gas and water meter factory, holds a meeting. Here, as well, the most important topic is the factory material savings program. Among the urgent matters that the council contends with, that one can mention today, is the building of a new

materials warehouse. This is a most necessary investment for the factory, and even though resources are available there is no "luck" in getting workers. Many attempts and interventions are necessary to get the work completed. The next meeting of the work council will be devoted to the appraisal of economic results from the first half of the year.

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At the Antoninek glass works, the work of self-government is concentrated on all problems connected with economical methods of management. The works are being modernized throughout. After a glass furnace is rebuilt, a new, modern, automatic machine for producing glass containers will be put into operation, 2 years ahead of schedule. Thanks to this the works will have a substantial additional source of income. Management, quality, savings--these are the basic subjects moved today by those active in self-government at the Antoninek Glass Works.

#### Legal Advisors Self-Government Activities

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 22 Jun 83 p 4

[Article by zm: "Legal Advisors' Self-Government Groups Begin Activity"]

[Text] The growth in the importance of law in the functioning of the socialized economy under reform conditions has created the need for statutory regulation of the principles involved in the rendering of legal services to government enterprises and cooperatives of all types, as well as to government enterprises and cooperatives of all types, as well as to governmental administrative organs and other government units.

The 6 July 1982 resolution applies equally to all socialized units in regard to legal advisors, outlining the principles for the execution of their work and the necessary qualifications. This resolution has made self-government among legal counselors mandatory. Membership in the self-government begins when a counselor's name is entered into the Legal Advisors' Register, a necessary action before one is permitted to practice this profession.

Territorial organization units of self-government are Legal Advisors' Chambers. The Bialystok Chamber encompasses the provinces of Bialystok, Lomza, and Suwaly. It includes over 500 legal counselors and applicants for legal counselor status who reside in that area.

Elections, the first such in Poland, of officers for the governing bodies of the Bialystok Chamber were concluded at the end of April 1983. The gathering of Chamber delegates chose, via secret ballot, from an unrestricted number of candidates. Chosen were a 12 member Area Council and its dean (Z. Mlynczyk was elected), an Area Disciplinary Court and a Discipline Officer (A. Chwiecko), and also an Area Review Commission.

The elected bodies held elections at their first meetings. The Area Council chose its presidium which consists of assistant deans S. Danilkiewicz (Suwalki) and J. Rolka (Lomza), secretary J. Olszewski, treasurer Z. Kraska (both from Bialystok) and members H. Seskiewicz (Lomza) and M. Smotrycki (Pisz). A. Domaszkiewica became the head of the Area Disciplinary Court, while A. Minkiewicz became the leader of the Area Review Commission.

The establishment of an office was declared the most urgent task, for the range and amount of activities involved in self-government precludes the use of community services.

At the following meeting the council continued to act on organizational matters. A preliminary budget was decided upon. The chamber uses the principle of self-financing. All expenses of the chamber are covered from membership dues. It was decided that lateness in the payment of dues will not be tolerated. The Area Council named several assistants to the Discipline Officer. Two auxiliary commissions were established. A commission for matters concerning economic reform (led by W. Koziol) and a commission for complaints and requests (led by A. Januchta). The second of the two is already at work.

Among other matters, the Area Council has the job of keeping records on the employment of the legal advisors. It is a statutory requirement for industrial enterprises to notify the Council in writing about the hiring or dismissal of a legal advisor. The Area Council would like to remind the directors of enterprises about the necessity of fulfilling this obligation.

The Office of the Legal Advisors' Area Council is located in Bialystok at 13 M. Nowotka Street, telephone 41-50-70 or 41-55-70. Hours are 9:00am to 1:00pm.

#### Workers' Self-Government - Basic Social Democratic Element

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 23 Jun 83 pp 1, 3

[Article by mag, hb, LC, kol, z.n.: "GLOS Reporter's Reconnaissance; On the Axis Self-Rule/Administration"]

[Text] Self-rule in the work place is one of the basic elements that constitute the Social Democratic system. Without self-rule groups it would not be possible to assure the incorporation of new economic mechanisms into the national economy. They are, after all, with trade unions, the guarantors of independence and self-determination for the industrial enterprises.

Work councils are already active at many enterprises in the Gdansk and Elblag provinces. A part of them has started activity even before the suspension of martial

law. Most, however, started functioning in the first months of the current year. The following is a report based on our reporters' notes during conversations with representatives of self-rule work councils in several industrial enterprises of the Gdansk and Elblag provinces.

#### Gdynia's Nauta Repair Shipyard

The self-rule group at Nauta belongs to those that have renewed their activity in a form almost unchanged from that which they had before 13 December 1981. Out of the 22 persons elected, two are gone. The membership was brought up to full strength by holding a special election in March of the current year. The leadership function at the Gdynia Nauta Repair Shipyard Work Council, the full title given to that body, has been filled from the start by engineer Piotr Kreft, director of the Machine Department. Even the social consulting committee that functioned during martial law was composed of the same persons. All this taken together means that the shipyard work crew, its management, and the establishing body, which in this case is the Office of Sea Management, have given the group a significant amount of trust.

The present period of activity is relatively short as it only started on 14 February 1983. Since that time 10 meetings of the council and several meetings of the presidium took place. On 8 April 1983 there was a general meeting of the delegates. Out of a total 137 representatives for the entire crew of the enterprise, 126 took part. At the meeting an appraisal was made of the council's activities, self-rule statutes were approved, and agreement was reached on the division of that part of the profits allocated for the workers. Gdynia's Nauta belongs to the few repair shipyards which are managing well during this downturn period. The workers are annoyed by the fact that in enterprises that are not profitable the pay is better than at Nauta. The workers say that they must make money to keep the others going. During three meetings the council worked out the rules for distributing premiums which are to replace the current "13".

Invited to the meetings are representatives of enterprise local party group PZPR, the trade union, the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] and the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP]. Engineer Zbigniew Gotartowski a member of the council's presidium, has commented that cooperation with the trade union is going well, but that sometimes there are differences in opinion on some topics under discussion--for example, the rules for distributing the premiums.

What matters does the council handle? Really, all matters that have to do with the proper operation of the shipyard. This ranges from giving opinions on candidates for directorship positions--recently an opinion was given on a candidate for assistant director--to approving the aims of the socioeconomic and material conservation plan at the enterprise. It also has the task of updating the current organizational structure. This is a necessity, for proportions in the employment structure had



been disrupted. In 1982 the number of workers involved in actual production went down, while the number in administration had not. It is a difficult matter to find a solution that would eliminate the need for layoffs.

There are other matters that are also important to the enterprise and its crew. Often these are details, such as improving the routing of material releases, or systematizing the testing for industrial diseases. The council has also approved a mandatory 5-day workweek to start at the shipyard in June 1983.

Then there is the burning question of modernizing the shipyard. How long will the presently used equipment and machines last? The enterprise has been growing for years and needs more space. There are possibilities. At this time Nauta turns over more than 90 percent of its earned profits as taxes to the National Treasury. The council feels that part of this money should be allocated for modernizing the enterprise.

#### Gdansk Port Authority [ZPG]

The work council at the Gdansk Port Authority has just been functioning. Elections for the council started in April 1983 have concluded on 31 May 1983. From the 15-man council a 3-member presidium was chosen with Kazimierz Lepiejko, director for Region III operation, as the leader. All members of the council are fostering their functions in the community.

"Presently we are concentrating on," the leader informs us, "preparing the final version of the charter. We will submit it to the council and the delegates at a general meeting. We expect the charter to be accepted next Thursday. It will be the foundation for our actions."

Those active in self-rule are worried by the fluctuations in the number of cadre members which are evident among port workers and supervisors. Part of the game is not only the betterment of work conditions (port workers often must work under very difficult conditions), but of pay as well. In addition the present state of the national economy has a major effect on the flow and quality of work in the port. The object, therefore, is to provide an optimal plan of operation and development for the next few years, a plan that will assure the correct position for the [ZPG] Gdansk Port Authority.

The Director of the ZPG would have a difficult time without self rule. Therefore, it is not at all unusual that the director had waited for the conclusion of the council elections so that he could obtain an opinion on the subject of the material conservation program developed by the ZPG.

#### Elblag Automotive Repair Shops [EZNS]

The work council at the Elblag Automotive Repair Shops was elected in November 1981. It was made up of 29 members, two-thirds of whom were directly involved in production work. It restarted activity in its

original form during March 1983. Elections were held only to supply replacements for three members who had left the enterprise. Meetings of the council take place systematically once a month. This schedule was decided upon due to the large number of matters that must be discussed. The 5-member presidium meets once a week to discuss the most urgent problems.

To date, almost all matters important to the Elblag Automotive Repair Shops [EZNS] were discussed at the meetings. The financial statement and the division of profits were analyzed. The production plan for the current year was approved, with the observation that using better organization it could be possible to easily do 3100 major engine repairs, even though only 2000 engine overhauls were planned. Other matters were mentioned and opinions were voiced.

A resolution concerning the method of premium pay distribution, a matter important to the workcrew, was discussed. To date work recognition premiums were not added to sick pay, but often the premium formed 40 to 50 percent of the wage. After a stormy discussion it was decided that the premium for all workers will be 20 percent. The remainder will be included in regular pay.

One of the meetings was devoted to the examination and analysis of the material conservation and anti-inflation plan. The council introduced a few changes. Among other items it was proposed that due to the high cost of contracting out painting of factory areas should instead be done by a painting crew formed at the shop, or by contracting out the work to employees. The council reserved for itself the right to review work progress on a quarterly basis so that its execution would not remain, as it often happens, on paper only.

#### Provincial Internal Trade Enterprise [WPHW]

The work council at the Provincial Internal Trade Enterprise has not had a long history of practical activity. The specific virtue of this enterprise, that of being spread out throughout the province, has increased the difficulties of organizing elections. It was not the number of employees, (there are 5,000 workers in WPHW) but the distribution, often in branches that have a few employees, that stretched the elections which ended on 22 April 1983. The first constitutional meeting of the 24-member council took place on 16 May 1983.

The wide distribution of members in the enterprise forces the council to seek organizational solutions different from those used in a consolidated unit. So, for example, it was necessary to draw up electoral districts from which 61 delegates were chosen for attendance at the first general meeting. The first such gathering will take place in July.

"This initial phase in the work of the council does not mean that we are limiting ourselves to organizational matters," states council leader Remigiusz Durski. At two meetings the council explored the possibilities

of managing the financial resources allocated for the workers and for the development of the enterprise. The material conservation and anti-inflation plan was adopted. In the near future the current organizational structure of the enterprise will be discussed. It is possible that in the present situation changes may be justified.

At this time the council is also in the process of forming problem solving teams which will envelop almost the entire sphere of enterprise activity. Teams were created for; enterprise organization and control, movement of goods and transport, bookkeeping and economics, matters of work, pay, and social life, technical and administrative matters, and services. The teams will be joined by workers from beyond the council, thanks to which a high level of professionalism may be reached in the teams, while gaining a wide perspective on the problems under consideration.

The program of work council activity is formed from the input of all members of the enterprise. Because of the fact that communications to each worker are limited individual council members are collecting suggestions in their designated areas. These will then be collectively studied.

Cooperation with the management is going well, but this does not mean that conflicts are avoidable. When it comes to the interests of the workers and the enterprise the council has promised to be unyielding. "The most important goal we seek," states R. Wurski, "is the integration of the workforce and the creation of conditions which would give the workers satisfaction from employment in the enterprise. Although, in trade, especially onw, this is not an easy assignment."

#### Men's Clothing Industry Plant Pasanil

At the Men's Clothing Industry Plant Pasanil a 17-member work council was reactivated through a decision of the Ministry for Chemical and Light Industry. It is active with the same members which were chosen by the workers before the announcement of martial law in December 1981.

The self-rule council at Pasanil has put the cause of effective economic management first. In mid-1981 the plant director set up a commission for organizational matters whose main assignment was to conduct a detailed examination of the cadres and check into the possibility of eliminating unnecessary positions.

The leader of the work council, Wieslaw Rzepka, director of the Sales and Export Division, has informed us that after a stormy debate several positions were eliminated in the organizational division, among them the position of assistant director for trade and economic matters, and several other positions in the remaining organizational cells at Pasanil. This allowed savings, due to the elimination of several positions, which were considerable when one realizes that this factory employs not quite 400 workers.

Members of the work council have made many valuable observations and suggestions for lowering production costs, the better use of materials, equipment and work time. Their continued efforts pushed to conclusion the matter of the so called workerless third shift in the braiding division. This brought in savings that equalled the cost of several positions.

After the first half of the current year has passed the work council will do an in-depth analysis of the economic and organizational activity of the plant. Problem solving commissions will be set up to study the basic spheres of plant activity. Their conclusions will be implemented in the second half of the year. This will no doubt contribute to further improvements of organizational-technical nature.

#### Gdansk Road Repair Enterprise [GPRD]

At the Gdansk Road Repair Enterprise self-rule in the workplace was reactivated immediately after the suspension of martial law and began activity immediately. The sociopolitical situation in this enterprise has been better than in others. During the years 1980-1981 there were no conflicts against the background of divisions in the trade union movement. The crew worked and cooperated well, the greatest proof of this being the completion of production planned for that period. Now, under economic reform conditions the enterprise has been successfully completing planned work and making a profit. The fees of GPRD services are set by the government, therefore, good economic results are obtained strictly from an increase in production and work yield. In the past year profit amounted to a half-billion zlotys from which 8 million zlotys were distributed to the work crews in the form of rewards.

This year the self-rule council and management together, have set profit goals to fall in the 10 to 15 percent range. There will be an increase in production of 100 million zlotys above that of last year's level. The growth is to be the result of the implementation of a material conservation and anti-inflation plan developed by the self-government. Of course, even here, there is no lack of difficulties and obstacles. Deliveries of crushed rock are irregular, there is a shortage of asphalt, replacement parts for machines are crumbling. The self-government and management have taken the initiative in regenerating the parts by using available local resources. Also, manufacture of replacement parts has started in the enterprise's own shops. These activities are helping to ease a difficult situation, and most importantly, are preventing the stoppage of valuable and irreplaceable equipment.

During the time that trade unions were suspended the self-government took over some of their activities, especially in the social sphere. A fund has been established for financing vacations and summer camps for the workers. Every child that is registered by his parents for summer camp will go. Also, all requests for vacations will be treated in a positive way. Presently the enterprise's vacation center in Kamienica Krolewska is being renovated and modernized.



Housing is a burning issue. On the initiative of the Workers' Self-Government the GPRD is going to purchase 10 apartment units. These will be the property of the enterprise and will be allocated to workers on a temporary basis while they are waiting to receive their own units from the housing cooperative.

Starting in May there is a trade union at GPRD and it is taking care of social problems. This will allow the self-government to concentrate on production problems.

12411

CSO: 2600/1101

SURVEY REVEALS DECLINING CONFIDENCE IN POLITICAL SYSTEM

Overview of Research

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Sergio-Croatian No 1696, 3 Jul 83  
pp 16-18

[Article by Stevan Niksic]

[Text] Sociologists and political scientists think that greater experience is accompanied by a higher degree of critical attitude. They are convinced that in this way it is possible to explain the Yugoslavs' attitude toward the delegate system, or, more exactly, toward specific forms of the political system that have been in operation since the SFRY Constitution of 1974 has been proclaimed.

The results of an extensive research conducted for several years, since the first delegate mandate, have shown a very high degree of people's confidence in the advantages of the new system; the same research done a few years later, during the second mandate, has shown that the majority of people still believe that this system is better than the system we had before, in the previous decades, but the percentage of people who think like this has in the meantime drastically diminished.

Explaining these results, the professor at the School of Political Science, Sociology and Journalism in Ljubljana, Dr Bostjan Markic (chief of the research project which studied the functioning and implementation of the delegate system during the last two mandates in Slovenia) says that the considerably more critical present-day attitude of the people toward the delegate system and especially toward the electoral process cannot, however, be interpreted as a result of some special antagonism toward the system. Markic thinks that people are bothered by the occasionally too ideological a treatment of the delegate system. They know this system better today, and it is thus more difficult to mislead them.

The above mentioned research in Slovenia was a part of a common Yugoslav project, started at the initiative of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia in 1975, and conducted simultaneously in all the republics and provinces. A considerable number of scientific institutes and scholars from all over Yugoslavia participate in

it. The aim is to study the functioning and implementation of the delegate system during three successive mandates in a relatively large sample which comprises several thousand workers and citizens, members of delegations and delegates, in local communities, OOUR'S [Organizations of Associated Labor], SIZs [Self-management Interest Communities] and counties all over the country. It is true that the work on the project is not done with the same rhythm everywhere, and thus, for the time being, only the partial results of the research in the first and second mandate are known, i.e., definitely processed. But even this has been sufficient for the first impressions and appraisal.

#### People Are More and More Critical

The initiator of this research which is officially titled "Functioning and implementation of the delegate system," the Federal Conference of SAWPY; will study and analyze two of its chapters that are particularly topical at this moment: the chapter about the electoral system and the chapter about the function of socio-political organization in the system. The delegates of the Federal Council of the Assembly SFRY will discuss the results of the research. A work group has been formed in the Committee for Socio-Political Relations of the Federal Council which will officially open this "dossier" at the beginning of next month. Chairman of the Committee, Petar Stjepcic and the chief of the above mentioned work group informed us that this delegate body will pay special attention to the researchers' findings about the delegate assembly relations, and that complete results known so far, together with the committee's positions, will be presented already in the fall.

Dr. Marjana Pajvancic, professor at the School of Law in Novi Sad and a member of the CC of the LC of Serbia, led the research during the delegate mandates in Voivodina, and presently she is also a coordinator of the common Yugoslav research of the delegate system (the same methodology is applied everywhere, so that eventually a synthesis could be derived from all the separate republican and provincial results). Her appraisals are similar to those of Markic's and they lead to conclusions about a certain drop of confidence in the delegate system and a more critical attitude of the citizens (see the last article here). Anyway, this is what the results of such a research in Voivodina show:

To the question "How would you evaluate the delegate system in comparison with the earlier representative system?", the largest number of people responded that the delegate system is better. During the first mandate, 82 percent of the surveyed persons gave such an answer, but 4 years later there were only 63.2 percent of such answers; during the first survey, only 6 percent of the surveyed persons thought that "there were no essential differences" between the old and the new ("representative" and "delegate") systems, but 4 years later the number of those who thought so doubled. The number of those who unambiguously said that the representative system was better than the delegate system was negligible: during the first mandate they amounted only to 1 percent, while 4 years later—which may be an indicator—their percentage doubled; the percentage of those who answered,

"I don't know, I can't judge which system is better," jumped from 11 percent (in the first mandate) to 21.8 percent (in the second).

The results obtained in Voivodina contain warnings about a slight but obvious drop of workers' and citizens' interest in social developments, and especially in the functioning of the delegate system. The number of those who say about themselves that they are not interested at all, or that they are interested only a little, significantly increased between the first and the second questioning. Similarly, the percentage of those who don't like to assume any functions in the local community, or OOUR, has increased.

It is true that the corresponding data in some republics (Croatia, for example) show different trends, so that one cannot draw any very reliable conclusions.

#### Diminished Interest

Undoubtedly, people appraise a system primarily on the basis of how, and how efficiently, this system solves their own fundamental problems. And the main and most important problems of people in the surroundings in which they live and work, i.e. in local communities, are--communal problems. This research has confirmed this fact. Judging by the answers, one can conclude that in a large majority of local communities, the issues that are of interest to the people were put on the agenda. However, when the question was asked afterwards "whether anything concrete had been done to solve these problems;" the largest number of the subjects circled the answer "I don't know."

The final analysis of the results will clarify some other puzzles, too, which may hide the secret of the drop of people's confidence in the delegate system.

To the question "do your elected delegates in the local community inform you about the discussions and decisions in the delegate bodies?" most people answered that this is done infrequently or never. As a rule, more than one half of the people are completely unsatisfied with the work and behavior of the elected delegates. When one adds to this the not negligible number of people who have no idea who their delegates are, one gets a picture which tells that the links between the delegates and their "basis" function very poorly, and often do not function at all.

"What way do you personally get the information about the possibilities of solving the problems in your local community?" was one of the questions in these surveys. Most people answered that they received such information at the citizens' meetings in the local community. However, later on, when the question was asked whether "you attended the citizens' meetings," most of the surveyed people in Voivodina (77.8 percent), for example, answered that such meetings do not take place. It is interesting that 4 years earlier a far larger number of citizens (almost one half) stated that they attended such meetings regularly, or at least occasionally.



To the very direct question about the personal interest in social events, in the second mandate there was also a noticeably smaller number of people who said that they were "clearly interested" than before; at the same time, the percentage of those who say about themselves that they are "not interested at all" or only a "little interested" has grown.

#### Selfmanagers without Influence

To the question, "did somebody talk with you about the problems of your local community and try to get you involved", more than one half of the people surveyed in the Voivodina counties answered "No." The question asked during the research in Croatia, "has your opinion about any problem connected with the selfmanagement decisionmaking been sought?", drew a negative answer from more than one half of the people. The percentage of negative answers has been larger in the second than in the first mandate.

Asked to evaluate their own influence on the decision making in the OUR today, more than one half of the workers surveyed in Croatia said that they "had none," or a "very small" influence." Just 4 years earlier, the workers surveyed in this republic expressed themselves in a much more positive way about the possibility of their own influence in the organizations of associated labor. The data about the surveys conducted in the local organization in Croatia show that here, too, a convincing majority of citizens thought that they had little or no influence on the decisionmaking, and the percentage of those who think in this way increased considerably between the two surveys in the span of a few years!

"The delegate system was introduced by the new Constitution, which means that it is relatively recent. We ask you to sincerely answer to what degree you personally understand the essence of this system," was one of the questions in these surveys. The answers received in Croatia were, as it seems, very indicative. Most people think that they understand the essence of this system "to some degree" or "in general." It was like this at least during the first research. However, during the second research, the number of those who said they "did not understand at all" doubled, and the number of those who said they understood the delegate system "completely" was reduced by one half. Obviously a paradox is taking place: the more they know the system and have experience with it, the less they understand it!

One can find many characteristic evaluations also in the results of the same research conducted in Macedonia. Asked to evaluate the efficiency of the delegate system on the basis of their own experience, most citizens expressed the opinion that the efficiency of the system is "medium." However, the number of those who think that the system is "very efficient" is far smaller today than it was 4 years ago, while there are more of those who judge the efficiency of the system, on the basis of their experience, totally negatively.

One chapter of the research in all the republics and provinces referred to the commitment of the socio-political organizations (League of Communists,

Socialist Alliance, Veterans Association, and the League of Socialist Youth) in the process of delegate decisionmaking in the local community, i.e. to the commitment of these organizations in the organizations of associated labor. The answers in those research projects that have been completed and published are not quite consistent. Somewhere, as for example in Croatia, the answers indicate that the commitment of socio-political organizations increased between the first and the second mandate. In other, e.g. in Macedonia, the influence of all the socio-political organizations on the processes of the delegate system and decisionmaking has--according to the answers received--diminished. In Voivodiana, too, the commitment and influence of all the socio-political organizations in the associated labor and local communities in the second mandate has been appraised far more negatively than in the first one. The only exception is the Veterans Association whose engagement in local communities has received, in the meantime, a few more points.

We have been talking only on the basis of partial and incomplete data which will undoubtedly require additional processing, comparison and interpretation. However, the basic conclusion about a more critical attitude toward the delegate system and its efficiency, a certain lowering of the possibility of personal influence on the more significant political processes in the society and the home and work environment, the diminished interest in immediate participation in social processes, and the partly critical remarks about the commitment and work of the League of Communists, Socialist Alliance, Confederation of Trade Unions, and the League of Socialist Youth can already be perceived.

#### Comments by Participating Researcher

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1696, 3 Jul 83  
p 18

[Text] We have asked for a comment from Dr Vladimir Goati, director of the Institute of Social Sciences in Belgrade and asked him whether--having in mind the results of these and other similar researches--one can speak today of a depoliticization of wide segments of workers and citizens and of much lower interest of theirs in the immediate participation in the social processes than was the case before. Goati said:

The results of the survey "Functioning and implementation of the delegate System" which you referred to are indicative indeed, because the delegate system (or any other political system) does not consist only of institutions, mechanisms, "rules of the game," but in the first place of the people with their attitudes, convictions, values: and their attitudes include attitudes toward the political system itself. A successful operation of a political system depends to a large degree precisely on the citizens' convictions of its suitability and efficiency, and for this reason the trend of a diminishing confidence of the citizens in the advantages of the delegate system manifested in the 1977-1981 period is of far reaching significance.

In answer to the question whether the findings of the above mentioned research point to a depoliticization, it is necessary first to define the

concept of depoliticization which is used by contemporary authors to designate numerous phenomena. I will very briefly define this concept as a lessening of the citizens interest in public, social affairs and their withdrawal into the private sphere. If we accept such a definition of the concept of depoliticization, then the findings of the research you referred to, as well as the findings of some other studies with which I am familiar, do not point to a depoliticization. They simply indicate a more critical attitude toward some political mechanisms in our society.

The reason for the diminished confidence of the citizens in the advantages of our system has to be looked for, in my opinion, above all in the unsatisfactory effects of the functioning of this system. A more critical citizens attitude derives from the fact that our society is faced with a crisis and that in such a situation vital social mechanisms are inevitably put under the magnifying glass of critical examination. But the criticism of the functioning of single segments of the political system is not depoliticization.

The heightening of the citizens critical attitude toward some mechanisms of the political system has been manifested in some other studies, too, as, for example, in the study "Assembly Elections 1982," which shows that most citizens do not know the extremely complicated electoral procedure, and thus they do not know other segments of the political process either. This is an obstacle to political participation and leads to apathy, because citizens do not want to get involved in politics if they do not have a clear picture of the meaning and effects of such involvement.

The exceptional complexity of the political system in our society (society in which more than 50 percent of the population has not completed eighth grade) has still another effect which also destimulates political participation. In such a system, namely, there appears an inevitably latent structure of political decision making and power. In fact, life itself demands shortcuts instead of the long and complicated procedure of decisionmaking. As time goes on, these shortcuts become the essential channels of the decision-making process and reduce the normative complex more and more to a mere backdrop.

But neither the critical attitude of the citizens toward the complexity of the electoral system clearly manifested in the study "Assembly Elections 1982" cannot be interpreted as a sign of depoliticization. The fact that citizens criticize and suggest changes is, in my opinion, rather an indication of their concern for public affairs and of their desire to participate in the political life in the proper way.

#### Comments by Outside Scholar

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1696, 3 Jul 83  
pp 17-17

[Comments of Marjana Pajvancic]

[Text] The basic "observation level" in this large research was the county. The research covered a sample of 12 percent of all the counties in the

republics and provinces, chosen on the basis of certain criteria (size, national income, nationality of the inhabitants, territorial location, etc.). In each county, the research was made in a given number of the organizations of associated labor and local communities. In this way, workers and citizens, members of delegations, as well as delegates in the councils of the assemblies of socio-political communities and SIZ's were included.

The idea was to follow the processes in the delegate system during three successive delegate mandates. Unfortunately, during the realization of the project there appeared some difficulties, so that the research has so far been completed only in SR Croatia, SR Macedonia and SAP Voivodina; partial research of this type in the two mandates up to the present have been made in SR Slovenia and SR Montenegro; during the first mandate such research has been made in the SR Serbia without the provinces and in SAP Kosovo, and during the second mandate in SR Bosnia Hercegovina. This, naturally, makes it difficult to reach precise evaluations that would be valid for all of Yugoslavia.

There have been a number of difficulties with the integration conceived on the principles of consultation, agreement and coordination of interests and positions. One can note, more or less clearly, two lines of decisionmaking. One of them goes from the self-managerially organized workers, and the second, informal, with a pronounced influence, goes from the executive organs in the OOUR, executive and administrative bodies in the assemblies of socio-political and selfmanagement interest communities, etc.

The cooperation of the delegations with the self-management organs and bodies and basic self-management organizations and communities is weak, says Marjana Pajvancic. The data show a diminished initiative of the meetings of workers and citizens with respect to the initiation of discussions about questions that are decided in the delegate bodies. This can be seen in the results of the studies in Croatia, Macedonia, Voivodina, Montenegro, and Serbia without the territory of provinces.

A comparison of the results from the first and the second mandate clearly shows that the activity at the workers' meetings and in the delegation for forming directions for delegates is diminishing. Moreover, it is not difficult to notice trends that favor the institutionalization of the conflicts of parochial interests, starting from the basic self-management organizations and communities, and among them, to wider forms of social organization. A very ample possibility to express parochial interests as an autonomous factor in the process of decision making is obvious.

In the relations between the self-managed state and the market, self-management and delegate relations are squeezed by the strong functions of the state on the economic level, especially at the most significant points of the social reproduction. On the other hand, because of the way of the functioning of the market, the mediation between the interests and the coordination of interests is often taken over by executive and administrative organs, thus again in the last analysis by the organs of the state power, concludes M. Pajvancic in her commentary on the temporary results of this research.



YUGOSLAVIA

GLIGOROV REFUTES ACCUSATIONS OF CAPITALISM

AU071828 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Aug 83 p 2

[Unattributed report on speech by Kiro Gligorov, member of the Council of the Federation and of the Commission of the Federal Social Councils for Economic Stabilization Problems, at a session of the SAWPY Federal Conference discussing the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program in Belgrade on 23 July]

[Text] I will discuss certain ideological mistakes and notions about socialism and socialist self-management. Thus, individuals in our country hearing the market ruled by economic laws, commodity production, responsibility for use of social capital, and even hearing participation in the distribution of the newly created value on the basis of pooling resources being mentioned, get upset and sound the alarm that we will get bogged down in capital relations, that from the museum of relics we will pull out a laissez-faire market, that the worker will become a hired worker, and the like. In this connection it is characteristic that some go to extremes, that in this connection it is forgotten that we are still in a transitional period of the society's development, a period which in many ways still contains what is new and old, and in which they oppose the economy and relations in it.

If we leave the field of purely theoretical discussions for other occasions, if we leave science and its methods of clarifying these problems, then we must ask ourselves: Who else but the worker will take care of social capital and its reproduction in simple and expanded reproduction. If the worker is not going to do this, then under our conditions only the state can do this, unless we prefer a return to private ownership and capitalist relations, and this also has happened in our country and on that ground statism, bureaucratism, and technocracy grew. How else will the results of work and business operations be evaluated if the market with all its functions is not functioning?

The workers' interest in an economical and optimal utilization of social resources is not only an abstract social interest or concern of the state, but the interest of the worker himself, his existential problem both as a producer and as a manager. If we bear in mind that the length of the working day will be constantly reduced, but that the mass of past labor will increase more and more at the same time with the progress of science

and technology and the society and will free man from the most difficult tasks and conditions of work, then the attitude to social means and accumulation becomes a fateful question of the workers' position and the future of self-management.

Workers should not be frightened with capital relations and the market. They should be enabled to become as complete as possible producers and self-managers. This is a historic task. Workers should also be concerned about all factors of production, about their own work, and about social capital. Then because of their interests they will associate themselves, the power of associated labor will grow, while science and experiences gained in practice will enable them to more easily recognize the activity of objective laws, that these laws do not work as a blind force and that by a conscious regulation of social trends, with its plans and with the plans of the sociopolitical communities they realize their direct historic goals. I have spoken about these problems not for some doctrinaire reasons, but because of the need for us to be as united as possible in realizing the long-term economic stabilization program. If substantial differences appear on these problems, then the concretization of the program will always be another opportunity for dilemmas, different interpretations, or rather for different measures in practice. An ideological unity in the society, or rather a previous ideological differentiation and clarification of these problems in a full democratic discussion are indispensable in connection with every greater undertaking.

Finally, it is a matter of a major reform, a major social undertaking. Such an assessment, however, imposes the obligation that the realization of the program should not be solely in the hands of the Federal Executive Council and that it should not be reduced to a package of economic measures, which was talked about by some comrades. Only if it is consistently carried out, will it set in motion a wave of changes which will embrace every basic organization of associated labor and every pore of social life. It depends on the strength and ability of the front of the socialist forces to be directly involved and present in the processes of the economic and social transformation, to pull forward, to instigate and encourage, to point out and propose, to struggle for its positions, and to demand responsibility; it depends on all this whether we will emerge from this battle with fewer scars, whether the time period for preparing and adjusting the program will be shorter, and therefore whether a further increase in the standard of living and a dynamic development of society will come sooner.

CSO: 2800/432

## YUGOSLAVIA

### PANCEVSKI NOTES THREATS AT MACEDONIAN MEETING

AU080702 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Aug 83 p 3

[Excerpts] Resen, 3 Aug (TANJUG)--Forty years have elapsed since the Prespa conference of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Macedonia, an event which had a tremendous significance for the further course of the national liberation war and revolution in this part of Macedonia.

On the anniversary of this significant event, a festive session of the Communal Committee of the League of Communists was held in Resen last night and the highest leaders of the SR of Macedonia attended. Milan Pancevski, secretary of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Macedonia, submitted a report on the importance of the Prespa conference.

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia headed by Comrade Tito was the leader in the struggle of our workers class and our peoples and nationalities, for its ideology and policy, and its revolutionary action to implement them symbolized and contained the basic vital interests of the class and of all our peoples and nationalities, Milan Pancevski pointed out.

Speaking about the importance of the Prespa conference decisions, Pancevski stressed that their basic ideopolitical positions retain their original significance in the struggle of our present society for a constant affirmation and deepening of the basic values of our socialist system and achievements of the national liberation struggle and the socialist revolution.

Therefore, Pancevski continued, we must understand and wage the struggle for the economic and political stabilization primarily as a struggle against everything that has a negative influence on the stability of the foundations of our self-managing socioeconomic and political system and the achievements of our socialist revolution. Within this framework, the League of Communists must struggle energetically and to the end against the roots and the protagonists of various nationalistic phenomena which appear in some national communities, proceeding from the fact that the essence and the aims of these phenomena are a negation of the authenticity, equality, and togetherness of our peoples and nationalities, and that these phenomena and their protagonists are in fact a weapon of those internal and external forces that desire to turn back the wheel of the history, to cut up Yugoslavia,

to realize their great-state aspirations, and to carry out an attack on our socialist self-managing system. Within this framework we must also struggle consistently, over a long term, and energetically against the phenomena of Albanian nationalism and irredentism whose ideological and reactionary positions are basically similar to, and are linked with, the Ballist-fascist platform of the times of the national liberation struggle.

Likewise, Pancevski added, we must be vigilant always and to the very end and we must energetically oppose all the attempts to reshape and falsify history, regardless of which side they come from; such attempts are very much present in Bulgaria, Greece, and Albania. Within this framework we must always clearly and frankly uncover the essence and the background of these phenomena and energetically oppose fresh overt negations of the authenticity and statehood of the Macedonian people, or overt territorial aspirations and pretensions against the SR of Macedonia and the SFRY. In this respect we must always proceed from our original positions and the incontrovertible historical facts that the Macedonian people through the continuity of its struggle, and especially in the national liberation struggle and the decisions of AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] and ASNOM [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Macedonia] once and for all rejected all the aspirations and pretensions emanating from great-state and bourgeois positions. In this context we will always strive for the recognition and implementation of the basic national and human rights of the Macedonians in the neighboring countries, and this care serves the development of good neighborly relations.

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FEDERAL-REPUBLIC RELATIONS IN IMPLEMENTING FEDERAL LAWS

Belgrade KOMUNA in Serbo-Croatian Jun 83 pp 17-21

[Article by Vidak Krivokapic: "Relations Between the Federation and the Bodies and Agencies of the Republics and Provinces in Enforcing Federal Laws and Other Regulations Adopted by the Bodies and Agencies of the Federation"]

[Text] The SFRY Constitution regulates relations between federal and republic bodies and agencies in enforcement of federal laws, other regulations and general acts passed by bodies and agencies of the Federation in Articles 272 through 278, in which relations are defined between the SFRY Assembly, the Federal Executive Council and federal administrative agencies on the one hand, and the assemblies of the republics, the assemblies of the autonomous provinces and their executive councils, as well as republic and provincial administrative agencies on the other. These constitutional provisions do not regulate relations between judicial or other authorities and organizations.

Relations Between the SFRY Assembly and the Federal Executive Council and the Assemblies of the Republics and Autonomous Provinces and Their Executive Councils

Our point of departure in examining the relations between federal, republic and provincial bodies and agencies in the enforcement of federal laws, other regulations and general acts will be the constitutional provision which states that federal bodies and agencies, within the limits of the rights and duties of the Federation within their sphere of activity, are responsible for the situation in the respective domains of social life, for setting forth policy in the particular areas, and for proposing the enactment of federal laws, other regulations and general acts, as well as for the enforcement of those enactments. Federal bodies and agencies are also responsible for monitoring the implementation of the policy adopted, federal laws, other regulations and general acts.

Relations between these bodies and agencies related to enforcement of federal laws, other regulations and general acts are based on the following principles:

1. federal laws, other regulations and general acts enforced by republic and provincial bodies and agencies, which are responsible for their enforcement;

ii. republic and provincial bodies and agencies have the right and obligation to enact regulations to implement federal laws, other regulations and general acts for whose enforcement they are responsible;

iii. federal bodies and agencies enforce federal laws, other regulations and general acts directly and are responsible for their enforcement when so specified by the constitution;

iv. federal bodies and agencies, within the limits of power set forth in the constitution, enact regulations to implement federal laws, other regulations and general acts for whose enforcement they are responsible.

Also, when the SFRY Constitution states that federal bodies and agencies shall regulate relations in the domains of national defense, state security and international relations, federal bodies and agencies issue regulations to implement federal laws. Here again, a federal law may specify that bodies and agencies in the republics and autonomous provinces may adopt regulations to implement federal laws.

The rule that federal bodies and agencies enforce federal laws, other regulations and general acts and are responsible for their enforcement when the constitution so states, does not have absolute significance. That is, the constitution provides that federal bodies and agencies shall be responsible for enforcing federal laws, other regulations and general acts in areas in which the Federation, through federal agencies, ensures the enforcement of federal laws and other regulations and general acts.

These powers are based primarily on Article 281 of the constitution, but also on other relevant constitutional provisions, especially those establishing the sphere of activity of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, the rights and duties of the Federal Executive Council, and the rights and duties of other federal bodies and agencies.

These federal laws are enforced directly by federal bodies and agencies. But a federal law may state that these laws are to be enforced by republic or provincial bodies and agencies.

Likewise, in the domains in which federal bodies and agencies are responsible for enforcement of federal laws, other regulations and general acts, a federal law may empower republic and provincial bodies and agencies to adopt regulations to implement them.

Although both possibilities are so formulated in the constitution that the formulation imposes the obligation of restrictive interpretation of these provisions, it must nevertheless be noted that in these cases there is a discrepancy between the principle of responsibility and the act itself. That is, under the constitution the federal bodies and agencies are responsible for enforcement of federal laws, while republic and provincial bodies and agencies may be empowered to enforce a particular federal law or to adopt regulations to implement it.

Nor is this the end of the relationship between federal bodies and agencies and the bodies and agencies of republics and autonomous provinces related to enforcement of federal laws. That is, to a certain degree the constitution also guarantees the "presence" of federal bodies and agencies even when on the question of enforcement of federal laws it is assumed that the jurisdiction and responsibility of republic and provincial bodies and agencies have been established, and that in the following form:

a) When republic and provincial bodies and agencies, in line with their responsibility, are empowered to issue regulations to implement federal laws, other regulations and general acts, federal bodies and agencies in those domains may issue regulations concerning technical measures and the keeping of records if they have been explicitly empowered to do so by the federal law. In that case those same federal bodies and agencies which adopt such a regulation must also define the limits of the powers vested in federal agencies.

b) Federal bodies and agencies, when explicitly empowered by a federal law and within the limits set forth in that law, may issue not only regulations on technical measures and the keeping of records, but also other regulations implementing federal laws enforced by republic and provincial bodies and agencies and for whose enforcement they are responsible.

Federal bodies and agencies may adopt regulations to implement the federal laws which they enforce and for whose enforcement republic and provincial bodies and agencies are responsible so that uniform implementation of these laws is ensured in the interest of the entire country.

An essential difference needs to be drawn between the views cited here under a) and b). We see in the paragraph under a) that when regulations on technical measures and the keeping of records are involved, federal bodies and agencies, on the basis of a federal law, may issue those regulations both to implement federal laws and also to implement "other regulations and general acts," which means sublegal general acts.

We see in the rule given under b) that federal bodies and agencies, on the basis of a federal law, may issue regulations which in the interest of the entire country ensure uniform enforcement of a law, but not also of "other regulations and general acts," that is, not of sublegal acts as well.

A federal body or agency may not adopt a sublegal act to implement a sublegal act so that in the interest of the entire country it might guarantee uniform enforcement of the first sublegal act. The conclusion should not be drawn from this that the sublegal acts adopted by federal bodies and agencies within their jurisdiction and within the limits of their rights and duties are not binding on republic and provincial bodies and agencies. That is, it is not a question of the autonomy of republic and provincial bodies and agencies with respect to those regulations, but it is a question of technical legal questions which are resolved in accordance with the character of these acts, which are not federal laws. That is, the enforcement of these "other regulations and general acts" of the Federation, and also uniform enforcement over the entire area of Yugoslavia, when necessary, is ensured through measures contained

in those regulations and general acts themselves. This position is in accord with the very character of those regulations. In principle these acts do not establish general social relations, and they specifically do not concern relations between federal units, nor do they set forth a general policy, as is done by laws, but rather they have to do with enforcement and implementation or they regulate certain specific matters.

**Federal Bodies and Agencies May Enact Laws or Other Regulations Which in the Interest of the Entire Country Ensure Their Uniform Implementation**

Accordingly, the question arises: Can federal bodies and agencies ensure uniform implementation through federal laws or sublegal acts of that other "general act"--a resolution, say, a declaration or similar act?

Since in these other general acts, which are not laws nor sublegal acts, positions are always taken on particular matters of general social importance to the whole country or relations are established in pursuit of common interests, we feel that one can conclude by analogy that federal bodies and agencies, consistent with the character of these general acts and when these general acts so envisage, can adopt laws or other regulations which in the interest of the entire country would ensure their uniform enforcement.

When the SFRY Constitution stated that federal bodies and agencies shall enforce federal laws and that they are responsible for their enforcement, then they enforce those laws directly. Federal bodies and agencies, that is, cannot undertake measures to implement federal laws through republic and provincial bodies and agencies or the bodies and agencies of other sociopolitical communities. They can undertake those measures exclusively through "their own" bodies and agencies.

In conformity with this principle that federal bodies and agencies enforce federal laws directly and through their own agencies, federal bodies and agencies may be authorized by federal laws to establish agencies and organizational units for particular areas with the task of performing certain administrative tasks within the jurisdiction of federal bodies and agencies.

Federal bodies and agencies cannot undertake organizational measures of this kind on the basis of federal law in all domains in which they are competent to enforce federal laws. These measures may be envisaged by a federal law only in the following domains: international relations, national defense, customs duties, foreign exchange and market inspectorates, monitoring the traffic of goods and services over the national boundary, monitoring weights and measures and precious metals, air traffic safety and radio communications.

The Federal Executive Council, in conformity with its political-executive function, and especially in line with its rights and duties having to do with the proposal of policy, the proposal of federal laws, other regulations and general acts of the Federation, the monitoring of enforcement of policy and the enforcement of federal laws and other federal regulations, both with respect to its own responsibility for the operation of administrative agencies, and thereby also responsibility for the enforcement of federal laws, other



regulations and general acts, as well as the responsibility for the general situation in particular areas of social life--is required to monitor the enforcement of federal laws both by federal agencies and also by the bodies and agencies of the republics and autonomous provinces.

In line with such important functions of the Federal Executive Council, and especially in conformity with its rights, obligations and responsibilities pertaining to the enforcement of federal laws, the SFRY Constitution states that if bodies and agencies in the republics and autonomous provinces do not enforce federal laws and other regulations and general acts for whose enforcement they are responsible, the Federal Executive Council shall call this to the attention of the executive council of the republic or autonomous province and call upon it to take appropriate measures to enforce federal laws, other regulations and general acts.

Federal laws may fail to be enforced both by republic and provincial administrative agencies and also by executive councils of the assemblies of the republics and of the assemblies of the autonomous provinces. But, as we have said, republic and provincial bodies and agencies issue regulations to enforce federal laws, other regulations and general acts, and in view of the imperative nature of the provision of Article 273, Paragraph 2, of the SFRY Constitution, nonenforcement of federal laws can also occur because appropriate regulations have not been adopted by republic or provincial bodies and agencies, and that means because of failure to adopt republic or provincial laws or other regulations by the assemblies of the republics or the assemblies of the autonomous provinces.

We can likewise assume that the Federal Executive Council might call upon the executive council of a republic or autonomous province to take appropriate measures to enforce federal laws, and nevertheless such measures might not be taken.

In both examples we can put the question of whether the principle of responsibility for implementation of federal laws is consistently operable?

It is clear that all issues of responsibility cannot be resolved through the relations of hierarchical subordination of bodies and agencies and that this would be contrary to the character of our constitution, but the chain of responsibility cannot be severed by overcoming and abolishing the hierarchical relation and the "vertical" structure of federalism. Responsibility must be carried to the end in the constitutional and legal system.

In view of the important place and role of the republics and autonomous provinces in the proposal of policy, in the proposal and enactment of federal laws, and especially in their enforcement, nonenforcement of federal laws in the form of failure to take measures or to adopt regulations, cannot be a matter for only one federal unit. This would not be in conformity with democratic relations and the character of our federalism. We think that in our constitutional and legal system, in situations when responsibility cannot be carried out to the end on the basis of the hierarchical relation, it is indispensable that this system of responsibility be built up in relations of mutual

responsibility. Institutionalization of these forms of mutual responsibility would make it possible to establish a complete chain of responsibility even when bodies and agencies of the Federation are involved, that is, the federal units or others with the right to make decisions.

#### Relations Between Federal Administrative Agencies and Republic and Provincial Bodies and Agencies

Aside from this kind of regulation in principle of relations between federal and republic bodies and agencies, the SFRY Constitution also contains specific provisions regulating more fully and precisely the relations between federal administrative agencies and republic and provincial administrative agencies and sets forth their mutual rights and obligations in the areas of enforcement and implementation of federal laws, other regulations and general acts, as well as the relations between the executive councils as political-executive bodies and as bodies responsible for the work of the administration.

When administrative agencies in the republics and autonomous provinces directly enforce federal laws, other regulations and general acts, whether federal or republic bodies and agencies are responsible for their enforcement, as well as when it is a question of international treaties for whose enforcement federal administrative agencies are responsible, federal agencies may also be granted other powers through federal laws with respect to republic and provincial administrative agencies in order to ensure uniform, orderly and prompt enforcement of federal laws. The constitution envisages measures, instruments and authorizations which can be undertaken in this area (Article 275).

Thus federal administrative agencies can be empowered by a federal law as follows:

- i. to issue to the competent republic and provincial administrative agencies mandatory instructions for performance of tasks for which they are authorized by federal law, other regulation or general act;
- ii. federal administrative agencies may in connection with enforcement of federal laws for whose enforcement federal bodies and agencies are responsible perform the functions of an inspectorate with respect to republic and provincial administrative agencies, but the relevant federal law must state and grant powers with respect to the content and scope of the rights of federal agencies to act as inspectorates;
- iii. a federal law may establish the obligation of a federal administrative agency, should the administrative agency in the republic or autonomous province fail to perform a particular administrative job, when nonperformance of that administrative job can have quite serious harmful consequences, to perform that job itself. In the taking of such measures the federal administrative agency is required to so inform the Federal Executive Council. The federal administrative agency may not in this manner be permanently authorized to perform jobs for which the republic or provincial administrative agency is otherwise empowered. It is, then, the constitutional obligation of the Federal Executive Council to undertake cooperation with the republic or provincial

executive council with a view to an agreement on correcting the causes which made it necessary for the federal administrative agency to perform that particular administrative job.

Finally, republic and provincial administrative agencies are required in conformity with the obligations set forth in federal law to inform federal administrative agencies about enforcement of federal laws and other regulations and general acts, as well as the enforcement of international treaties for whose enforcement federal administrative agencies are responsible.

If the agencies in the republics and autonomous provinces, then, do not enforce federal laws, other regulations and general acts, the Federal Executive Council is required to so inform the republic or provincial executive council and to call upon them to undertake appropriate measures to enforce these federal regulations. For all practical purposes that is the end of the procedure whereby the Federal Executive Council initiates the taking of steps related to nonenforcement of federal laws, and in our opinion this is one of the forms of incompleteness in the system of responsibility.

By contrast with this arrangement, in the case when a dispute arises between federal administrative agencies and republic or provincial administrative agencies concerning performance of the obligations of the administrative agency in the republic or the administrative agency in the autonomous province to enforce a federal law, other regulation or general act, the procedure for taking steps to ensure enforcement of federal regulations is carried to the end. In such case the Federal Executive Council or the executive council of the republic or the executive council of the autonomous province has the obligation to so inform the SFRY Assembly. The SFRY Assembly issues a ruling on the issue in dispute and decides on the obligation to enforce the federal law, other regulation or general act.

In conformity with the principle of responsibility of the republics or autonomous provinces for their own development, but also for the development of the Yugoslav socialist community as a whole, the possibility has been provided for republic and provincial executive councils to put a question of responsibility for nonenforcement of federal laws not only on the part of republic and provincial agencies, but also on the part of federal administrative agencies. That is, Article 276 of the constitution provides the right of the executive councils of the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces to raise the question before the Federal Executive Council of the enforcement of federal laws, other regulations and general acts adopted by the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly if it feels that federal administrative agencies are not enforcing those acts or are not enforcing them consistent with the policy which has been established.

It is immediately striking that this right of republic and provincial executive councils is bound up with the relevant acts adopted only by the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, but not with acts adopted by the SFRY Assembly, the Federal Chamber, or by the chambers in areas where they have equal jurisdiction. At the same time this means that the republic and provincial executive councils can take advantage of this right in the manner described when

It is a question of enforcing an act which that chamber adopts in a procedure in which the consent of the assemblies of the republics and assemblies of the autonomous provinces is not obtained as well as those acts which the Chamber of Republics and Provinces adopts on the basis of the consent of those bodies.

The putting of a question of enforcement of federal laws by federal administrative agencies before the Federal Executive Council does not end the "dispute" between the republic and provincial executive councils and federal administrative agencies. That is, the Federal Executive Council is a body which under the SFRY Constitution is responsible for the work of the federal administrative agencies. This means that the Federal Executive Council would in such a case be required to take appropriate measures, that is, to put a question of responsibility of federal administrative agencies for nonenforcement of federal laws, other regulations and general acts before the SFRY Assembly.

Relations of Federal Bodies and Agencies and the Bodies and Agencies of the Republics and Provinces Based on Mutual Cooperation, Notification and Agreement

In accordance with the position of the republics and autonomous provinces as federal units, the relations between federal bodies and agencies and the bodies and agencies of the republics or autonomous provinces are not in principle based on the hierarchical subordination of "higher and lower" bodies and agencies, and the political-executive and executive bodies of the republics and autonomous provinces are accountable to their own highest bodies--the assembly, not to the corresponding body of the Federation.

In the domain of relations established on the principles of established rights, obligations and responsibilities, in Article 273, Paragraph 3, the SFRY Assembly states that in conformity with the responsibility of bodies and agencies in the republics and autonomous provinces to enforce federal laws and other regulations and general acts, relations between federal bodies and agencies and bodies and agencies in the republics or autonomous provinces shall with respect to enforcement of those laws and other regulations and general acts be based on mutual cooperation, notification and agreement.

The SFRY Constitution sets up mutual cooperation, notification and agreement among these bodies and agencies in the form of an imperative norm and establishes them as the form of their mutual relations in carrying out federal laws and other acts of the Federation, and it does not make this a discretionary right of those bodies and agencies.

Mutual notification and furnishing of particular data, mutual cooperation and agreement follow both from the established rights and also from the obligations of federal bodies and agencies, above all the Federal Executive Council, to monitor the implementation of policy and enforcement of federal laws and other acts of the Federation. Accordingly, it is not a question of the "goodwill" or "handsome behavior" of these bodies and agencies, but of a relationship established by the constitution in the pursuit of common interests in enforcement of federal laws, other regulations and general acts, and it cannot be a question merely of practice or of optional assessment or discretion.



In practice, as far as application of that article (Article 273, Paragraph 3) is concerned, there are differing viewpoints and opinions as to its interpretation. One particular issue is this: On the basis of these constitutional provisions can a federal body or agency and bodies or agencies of republics and autonomous provinces conclude agreements in mutual cooperation, and, if they can, what is the subject matter of those agreements, who are the principals involved in the agreement, and what is the character of the agreement?

In view of the character of relations of these bodies and agencies as presented, and in particular when this constitutional principle is placed in the context of other constitutional provisions, it can be concluded that the word "agreement" is used here in its meaning of a functional act. Agreement here does not refer to an agreement in the sense of a document, some public normative act. On the basis of the meaning of this word, and especially on the basis of the way in which it is used in this text of the constitutional norm, one could hardly draw an affirmative conclusion as to the possibility of agreement among federal bodies and agencies and the bodies and agencies of the republics and provinces with respect to enforcement of federal laws, other regulations and general acts.

But we feel that agreement of the bodies and agencies of the Federation and the bodies and agencies of the republics and provinces in enforcing federal laws, other regulations and general acts, consistent with the relations between these bodies and agencies in the performance of that function, is one of the forms in which common interests are pursued. In that respect Article 273, Paragraph 3, associated with Article 244, can also be the legal basis for conclusion of agreements between federal bodies and agencies and the bodies and agencies of republics and autonomous provinces related to enforcement of federal laws, other regulations and general acts.

These agreements may be concluded only in conformity with the function of these bodies and agencies, consistent with their rights, obligations and responsibilities. The SFRY Constitution sets forth the relations and rights and duties of federal, republic and provincial bodies and agencies with respect to enforcement of federal laws, other regulations and general acts on the one hand, and the functions and rights and duties of those bodies and agencies as the bodies and agencies of sociopolitical communities on the other, defines their role in the enforcement of federal laws and other regulations and general acts. In both respects there is an essential difference between an assembly, a political-executive body, and an administrative agency.

Principals in the Act of Agreement and the Character of an Agreement Concluded To Regulate the Manner in Which Federal Laws and Other Regulations Are Enforced

On the basis of the relations established by the SFRY Constitution between federal bodies and agencies and the bodies and agencies of the republics and autonomous provinces, we feel that administrative agencies cannot conclude agreements regulating the manner in which federal laws are to be enforced. Specifically for the following reasons: that the SFRY Constitution is complete and entire, and also that the relations among federal, republic and

provincial administrative agencies concerning enforcement of federal laws have been imperatively established, and there is no room here for conclusion of such agreements. The second reason is that administrative agencies, as executive agencies of the respective sociopolitical community, operate on the basis of the constitution, law and other regulations of the assembly or political-executive agencies of that sociopolitical community.

Conclusion of agreements in the exercises of administration would actually come down to the area of issuing rules, instructions and similar acts. Accordingly, in our opinion, agreements can be concluded by the following: the SFRY Assembly, the assembly of a republic and assembly of an autonomous province, as well as the Federal Executive Council, the executive council of the assembly of a republic and the executive council of the assembly of an autonomous province. This means that the principals in conclusion of agreements can only be the respective delegate assemblies and their executive bodies, but not administrative agencies, nor other public entities.

The question of when a federal body or agency can or cannot be party to an agreement is a very complicated one. We will indicate that here only in the form of a rule derived in principle. A body or agency of the Federation is the principle in all those agreements on enforcement of federal laws, other regulations and general acts for whose enforcement federal bodies and agencies are responsible regardless on what basis. We should be mindful here both of the obligations of the SFRY Assembly and Federal Executive Council and also of the obligations of federal administrative agencies.

In principle federal bodies and agencies may not be principals in those agreements which are concluded as the basis for enforcement of federal laws, other regulations and general acts enforced by bodies and agencies in the republics and autonomous provinces insofar as on the basis of the SFRY Constitution or federal law adopted on the basis of the constitution federal bodies and agencies are not responsible for their enforcement (see the provisions of Articles 272-278 of the SFRY Constitution).

The subject matter of agreements concluded on the basis of Article 273, Paragraph 3, of the SFRY Constitution may lie in the sphere of enforcement of federal laws, other regulations and general acts. Other areas in which joint interests are pursued may be the subject matter of agreements among sociopolitical communities, but not of their bodies and agencies on this basis in constitutional law.

In the sphere of enforcement of federal laws, the subject matter of an agreement may be those matters for which the SFRY Constitution and then federal laws, other regulations and general acts adopted on the basis of the constitution have not designated the body or agency or manner for enforcement of federal laws, other regulations and general acts, whether it is a federal body or agency or a body or agency of the republic or autonomous province.

Since federal laws are enforced not only on the basis of the SFRY Constitution, but also on the basis of the constitutions of the republics and autonomous provinces, it is not possible for those matters for which the constitutions of

the republics or autonomous provinces have established the manner of enforcement of federal laws, other regulations and general acts to be the subject of an agreement among the bodies and agencies of those sociopolitical communities either.

An agreement must be concluded through special proceedings. These are the proceedings of preparation, examination, reconciliation and signing of an agreement. This procedure should be distinguished from the procedure of mutual notification of bodies and agencies, mutual cooperation, reconciliation of opinions, and mutual agreement which a body or agency otherwise engages in on the basis of constitutions and law, as a form of operation and mutual relations. All or certain of these actions may enter into the procedure for the concluding of an agreement, but they do not constitute the proceedings of an agreement.

The freedom of principals to enter into agreement is not derived from civil law. This freedom to enter into agreement is determined by the function which the body or agency entering into the agreement is to perform by virtue of the agreement. We are dealing here with rights and obligations in pursuit of joint interests. Agreement is not a matter of the free will of the principals, it is subject to the public interest. That is why the agreements are "public acts."

Agreements concluded between bodies and agencies of the Federation and bodies and agencies of the republics and autonomous provinces in enforcing federal laws, other regulations and general acts constitute normative legal acts sui generis. These are legal acts, since they are concluded by government bodies and agencies, since the subject matter of the agreement is regulation of matters which are a function of government bodies and agencies, as well as because the agreements are concluded through proceedings specifically conducted and in written form.

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## PHILOSOPHER STOJANOVIC DEFENDS WRITER COSIC

Zagreb STUDENTSKI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 25 May 83 pp 8-9

[Article by Svetozar Stojanovic: "The Real and the Impossible"]

[Text] Dr Zivorad Djordjevic, editor in chief of KOMUNIST (edition for SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia), published in his newspaper on 4 March a long essay entitled "Black Becomes White and Vice Versa" in connection with Dobrica Cosic's book "Stvarno i moguće" [The Real and the Possible]. I feel a need to react and I would like to believe that the writer will not abuse his position by making it impossible for readers to acquaint themselves with my criticism. Dr Djordjevic acknowledges that Dobrica Cosic is a "great creator" and "former member of the communist movement," adding that he has no quarrel with that Cosic. That is handsome on the part of the editor of a newspaper which for several years now has led the political campaign against Cosic. Dr Zivorad Djordjevic is a man who yet has to prove himself as a creator and member of the communist movement. I am not certain that he gave enough thought to what the expression "have a quarrel" implies and the obligations it entails. After all, there are at least two parties to a quarrel. Assuming that Cosic wants to join in the quarrel with him, he would have to open up the pages of the newspaper he edits to him. Nevertheless, I will not prejudge anything.... To be sincere, I would not be willing to enter into polemics with Dr Djordjevic if his article did not show where we have come to in the development of political culture.

So, let us see which Cosic he wants to quarrel with. According to him it is the man who "attempts" to "come to a quasi-national throne by playing the petty politician and by inventing mythology";<sup>[2]</sup> who "offers society the rhetoric of a love of freedom instead of commitment to the freedom of the working class"; who "spreads moralism and hopelessness instead of prospects for the future"; who "advocates a state-unitaristic concept of policy governing inter-ethnic relations"; who "threatens national freedoms and veers into the waters of unitarianism and statism"; who "proclaims the nationality, the ethnic minority and national consciousness outdated social categories, that is, forms of nothing other than human alienation and social evil"; finally, it has to be the man whose "basic preoccupation is no longer creation of a society of great men devoid of ethnic fanaticism, but a moralizing and romantic-bourgeois glorification of the 'spirit of the people,' excessive preoccupation with and manipulation of the history of the nationality."<sup>3</sup>



It is truly difficult for a great creator when he falls into the hands of a petty interpreter, especially when the latter dares not to quote him. The editor of KOMUNIST is so respectful of his own readers that as evidence for his charges he cites barely seven of Cosic's sentences or half-sentences--and we will see how he cites them, interprets them and comments on them. No, it is not a question of the available space; the author's scribbling covered an entire page of the newspaper. Incidentally: quotes from Svetozar Markovic and Isaac Deutscher took up more space than those from Dobrica Cosic.

It is typical of the political folklore to which Djordjevic's article belongs that it is of interest to people not because of what it asserts, but because of who does the assertion, when, concerning whom, with what motives, in what form, because of what is the background of what is said, because of whom this will be of use to, whose interest it expresses, and the like. The question of the real content, and accordingly of the truthfulness or untruthfulness of the statements, is an altogether derivative one. The author and the situational context take up the foreground. Everything around the truth is more important than the truth itself. In such a situation "the most confusing thing is when the wrong man says the right thing."

That is why the editor of KOMUNIST does not even put the question of the truthfulness or untruthfulness of Cosic's assertions--he does not even use the word (un)truth. And indeed why would he when: "The essential thing, however, is in what sociohistoric context we return to the past and with what motives we turn back to tradition."["] On that one can truly say whatever comes into your mind. For instance, that Dr Djordjevic's motives are suspicious on the basis of the fact that he attacked Dobrica Cosic's book only after this had been done by political forums ("the sociohistoric context").

But I announced an analysis of the way in which the writer cites, interprets and comments on several (half-)sentences of Dobrica Cosic. Dr Djordjevic seeks and finds evidence of Cosic's unitarianism in the following definition: "That is the way to create social relations in which everywhere the class, general-social and individual interests are confidently MORE PRIMARY than belonging to a nation-state." ("Stvarno i moguce," p 66--emphasis supplied by S. S.) Now every student of the social sciences would have to know that the unitaristic principle of the organization of the state ignores the multinational composition and diverse national interests of the population, and that accordingly one cannot be a unitarist just because he subordinates the interest of the nationalities to the interest of the society at large and to the class interest. Otherwise every Marxist would have to be a unitarist.

Dr Djordjevic, of course, did not dare to quote Cosic's next sentence: "This is the way to gradually create social opportunities for emergence of a SOCIALIST FEDERATION of the Balkan peoples, as an organic part and form of a worldwide process of integration." (Emphasis furnished by S. S.) Then it would have been obvious that Djordjevic is suggesting pure nonsense: the unitarist Dobrica Cosic has federalistic conceptions! Incidentally, here is how Cosic the federalist evaluates prewar Yugoslavia: "But through the fault and errors of the monarch, the rulers and the politicians, to the misfortune of all the Yugoslav peoples, and most fateful for the Serbian people, the new Yugoslav

was not founded ON THE PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRATIC FEDERALISM AND ETHNIC AND SOCIAL EQUALITY. Thus the great and excessively expensive wartime victory of the Serbian people was destroyed in peacetime together with its democratic and liberative achievements and goals, and was even transformed into its 'historic guilt.'" (p 188--emphasis supplied by S. S.)

Dr Djordjevic also condemns Dobrica Cosic for the following words: "On the other hand, though, the content of and forms taken by the totality of cultural consciousness of the Serbs and aspirations for affirmation of the UNITY OF SERBIAN CULTURE regardless of republic and regional divisions and boundaries are passed over in silence, displaced or given insufficient emphasis." (p 121--emphasis supplied by S. S.) Dr Djordjevic obviously does not make a distinction between advocating the exercise of a nationality's right and nationalism. He questions the right of the Serbian people to the unity of its own culture. I call that ethnic masochism. Would Dr Djordjevic dare to deny that right if we replaced the Serbs in Cosic's formulation with, say, the Montenegrins or Croats?

Cosic would indeed be a nationalist if he sought that right only for his own nationality. However, as an internationalist he universalizes his principle in the very next passage: "However, if affirmation of ethnic allegiance and free development of ethnic identity are an essential attribute of self-management socialism in its new and current arrangement, as is being asserted and preached these days, then it is logical and fair to demand that THAT PRINCIPLE APPLY TO ALL AND BE ENJOYED BY ALL THE NATIONALITIES OF YUGOSLAVIA. That is, we feel that the democratic and socialist principles should guarantee the right of the Serbs and all the nationalities which do not live in their parent republic and state to freely display their allegiance to their own national CULTURE as a whole and to enjoy it in its content and forms. In accordance with the consistent principles of self-management, of course, and with resolute resistance to any sort of antisocialist aspiration and centralism and to anyone's right to patrimony and monopoly." (pp 122-123--emphasis furnished by S. S.) Why does Dr Djordjevic pass over these lines in silence? Who, then, is playing the petty politician--Dobrica Cosic or he?

How does Dr Djordjevic evaluate Cosic's reflection which follows: "... what kind of a nationality are we, what kind of people are we to have died so much in wars for freedom only to remain without it by virtue of the very victory? How is it that SOMEONE AMONG US, someone on the inside, takes away what on the battlefield could not be taken away by an enemy many times stronger? How is it that people so decent, so proud, so brave in war, consent in peacetime to remain humiliated and subservient?" (p 171--emphasis furnished by S. S.) As Djordjevic sees it, this is "... a moralizing and romantic-bourgeois glorification of the 'spirit of the people,' excessive preoccupation with and manipulation of the history of the nationality."

It was the KOMUNIST commentator's big trouble that he did after all have to quote something from Cosic. He either does not know the meaning of the terms which he uses or he is an extremely malicious interpreter, one who also altogether underestimates the intellectual abilities of his readers. The Cosic passage quoted is obviously critical toward the Serbian tradition, and

consequently tears down Djordjevic's characterization without being called upon to do so, rather than supporting it. How could he have dared to assume that the reader would not see that Cosic was saying that it was precisely the Serbs who had taken away the freedom of the victor from the Serbian people, not members of the other nationalities of Yugoslavia?

We have already shown that Dr Djordjevic has a habit of breaking off quotations wherever it suits him, and now we shall see that he even juggles with other people's ideas by his arbitrary choice of a beginning. Here is how Cosic's entire statement reads from which the sentence just given was wrenched: "Even after several years of reflection, I have still not managed to put the most essential thing into literary terms: What were all the imperatives and aspirations, what were all the goals and errors on behalf of which Serbia sacrificed almost half of itself in the human slaughter of WORLD WAR I? After all, one must remain long, long in silence at the seven-digit number of the dead: 1,257,000. In the statistics of human losses in wars for freedom alone we are equal to some of the great people, and many of the great ones are not our equal; alone in the number of wartime casualties for freedom do we stand at the very top of the European ranking. That fact makes me depressed: What kind of a nationality are we, what kind of people are we to have died so much in wars for freedom only to remain without it by virtue of the very victory? How is it that someone among us, someone on the inside, takes away what on the battlefield could not be taken away by an enemy many times stronger? How is it that people so decent, so proud, so brave in war, consent in peacetime to remain humiliated and subservient? Five decades after World War I and its outcomes and consequences which by now have been examined, we can no longer reflect on that event in the spirit of the national mythology, the so-called pre-Kumanovo Serbia, in the spirit of national romanticism, in the spirit of the national pseudofolklore, nor from the standpoint of the two ideologies--the one defeated and the one which was victorious. What I learned and suspected compels me to a conscious verification: To what extent was that immeasurable misfortune, which brought about other great misfortunes and the destiny of the Serbian people in the 20th century, a historical inevitability and necessity for survival, how much the national interest and necessary price of any sort of freedom and of the birth of AN ILL-FATED STATE, and how much a defeat of the statesman's, military man's and politician's wisdom of those who governed Serbia, how much an expression of the superiority in making war and the victor's ruthlessness of the Austro-Hungarian, German and Bulgarian armies, how much the unpreparedness and unwillingness of England, France and Russia to help their ally, that "'small," heroic Serbia,' as they generously and affectionately referred to it after Cer and Kolubara?..." (p 171--emphasis furnished by S. S.)

After that fragment a question is posed as to who is it that has the "romantic-bourgeois" attitude toward the horrible tragedy of the Serbian people in World War I and toward its position in the new state: Cosic or Djordjevic, who attempts to discredit the former's assessment by taking it out of its context in time. As Dobrica Cosic says, in the face of such a misfortune one truly must "remain silent a long, long time." But Dr Djordjevic has the task of writing at any cost, and he therefore instructs the great writer even in "poetics," even though he promised that he "would have no quarrel" with Cosic as a man of



letters. Here are some great thoughts for a possible personal collection of quotes: "And today in multinational socialist Yugoslavia Dobrica Cosic says that 'our literature is challenged by history to express a consciousness of the tragic destiny of our people and wage a rebellion against such a destiny.' He obviously forgets that with his thesis concerning the tragic fate of his own people he cannot alter the course of history which is behind us, but he can RUIN AND POISON WHAT WE NOW HAVE. A return to the past makes sense if the positive values of the historic legacy furnish a stimulus for creativity and not in order to take captive the prophet of the past. Tradition has value insofar as it stimulates us to progress." (Emphasis supplied by S. S.)

It sounds grotesque when Djordjevic accuses the writer of tragic historical novels of perceiving the history of the nationality he writes about as tragedy. How does he imagine that the "thesis of the tragic destiny of his own people ... can ruin and poison what we now have?" Does Dr Djordjevic want to forbid writers from other regions of Yugoslavia to view the history of their own nationalities in tragic terms? Without even knowing about that, merely by the way, he made a discovery of tremendous importance to historical science as well: only those multinational states whose parts have or at least pretend that they have a "happy" history have a true chance of survival and progress.

The only thing that is accurate in everything that Dr Djordjevic says about Dobrica Cosic is that he has criticized the nationality policy of the League of Communists. But the League of Communists is not some sort of metaphysical entity, but a party of progressive people who have--be it said--changed their policy on several occasions (which accounts for so many changes in the country's constitution). I all but hear the "rumble of thunder": How does he dare to assert something of that kind when the League of Communists has never departed from the principle of brotherhood and unity, equality of the nationalities and federalism? This will not, of course, impress me, since policy is made up of specific measures, institutional arrangements and real consequences, and not principles which have been proclaimed, which usually it is difficult to find any fault with at all. What are we to do, for example, with the grave nationalistic crises in 1971 and 1981--they presumably broke out in the League of Communists and its leadership as well, and not only outside it and apart from it. A party which claims the "leading role" in our society does not have the right to reserve merits for itself as an untouchable essence, and to proclaim failures to be accidents and attribute them to abstract categories such as statism, bureaucracy, nationalism and anarcholiberalism, which it has reified....

Consequently, from the unquestionable fact that Cosic has criticized the nationality policy of the League of Communists nothing has as yet been made to follow logically with respect to the unjustifiability or justifiability of his criticism. The real question is this: Which nationality policy of the League of Communists, with what arguments and from what viewpoint has Cosic questioned? As is well known, it was in late May 1968 that the leadership of the League of Communists broke with Cosic. Dr Djordjevic puts his foot in his mouth when on the one hand he repeats that on that occasion (and also later) Cosic spoke out as a unitarist and nationalist, and on the other hand reproached the publisher for having brought together these pieces of Cosic to



make up the book "Stvarno i moguće." If he is really convinced of what he asserts, he ought to encourage the publisher to bring out a second printing, since in that way ever broader circles will have occasion to see for themselves who Dobrica Cosic really is. And to the same end they ought to reprint the passages stated in KOMUNIST and call upon members of the League of Communists to take a position concerning them. Otherwise one might think that there is some reason for wanting to conceal Dobrica Cosic's real views.

I publicly accuse him of that. It is proper for me to document that charge still more strongly. I will therefore take the central passages from Dobrica Cosic's speech delivered in the meeting of the Serbian LC Central Committee in late May 1968:<sup>[1]</sup>

"I believe that it cannot be known how widespread is the belief that the conception of a primitive, disintegrated, particularized, and inevitably bureaucratic and poor society is borne in the name of regional autonomy and in the name of the nationality as the primacy in society under the formula 'self-governing equalities.' I believe that one must know that the country's socialist public is very disturbed by the strength of those factors which encourage remoteness and lack of understanding, lack of respect and intolerance, egoism and enmity between peoples and nationalities. I think that it is impossible not to see that the unity of the working class and of the Yugoslav nationalities is being undermined at the foundations by a strong social and national differentiation, growing economic inequality and inequity, and without that class unity, national unity and socialist unity, without the actuality of social equality, the horizons of socialism are clouded in any Yugoslavia one might imagine." (p 55)

"I am in agreement with all the views and proposals aimed at still more consistent achievement and enrichment of the freedom, equality and integrity of all people and nationalities, in all domains of society, at all levels of inter-social and interhuman relations. I especially agree with the view that we need more intensive, but also more optimum and purposive investment in Kosovo and Metohija, and also about furnishing the physical and other conditions for still more rapid cultural development of Skipetars, Hungarians and other ethnic minorities, especially for integration of their creativity into the cultural treasury of Serbia and Yugoslavia. I am convinced that a radical attitude toward Serbian nationalism, especially in Kosovo and Metohija, deserves the greatest attention and complete consensus. It is always indispensable to have one's eyes wide open to evil in oneself and the strength to bear public witness to that evil and to act against it. One also should resolutely oppose the most diverse expressions of Serbian national supremacy, which has been rather frequent in ethnically diverse regions, and which also, incidentally, though it does not always have an outright nationalistic tone, could offend the national and human dignity of members of other ethnic communities." (p 58)

"No thorough and objective analysis has been made of the political situation in the provinces, in Kosovo and Metohija in particular, of the situation which from everything one knows is burdened with very grave problems and certain retrograde tendencies. We can no longer fail to know how widespread the

conviction has become in Serbia that relations between the Skipetars and Serbs have become aggravated, about the Serbs and Montenegrins feel threatened, about the pressures for moving out, about the systematic displacement of Serbs and Montenegrins from positions of leadership, about the desires of specialists to leave Kosovo and Metohija, about the lack of equal rights before the courts and the lack of respect for legality, about the blackmail in the name of ethnic equality. We have a duty to adopt a democratic posture toward these occurrences; we are forced to thoroughly and conscientiously check the foundation of such occurrences, opinions and feelings and to responsibly debate all this even here in this very place.

"The chauvinistic disposition and nationalistic psychoses are not evident in the Skipetar nationality in corresponding proportion; irredentist and separatistic outlooks and aspirations in certain strata of the Skipetar nationality are being unjustifiably underplayed. Not only does that betray the political truth, but it is also a display of an essentially problematical magnanimity on the part of 'representatives' of the so-called larger nationality, whereby the equality of the Skipetar people is morally impoverished, its equality in responsibility for the progress and destiny of the Republic of Serbia and Yugoslavia, responsibility for cooperation and for the life of the community." (p 59)

"In the analysis of the situation and proposals for resolutions of this plenum nothing very serious or definite was said about the bureaucratic centralism of republic forums, organs, institutions, about the centralism which, especially in the Vojvodina political circles, is called Serbian centralism, Serbian hegemony, primitive centralism, which unfortunately has orally and in the corridors been made politically responsible for more than a decade for the lag and slow economic development of the Province of Vojvodina.

"In the survey of political conditions in Vojvodina not a word was uttered about Hungarian nationalism and segregationism, as though they did not exist at all and as though they represent no sort of political fact in this region.

"Nothing whatsoever was said about the existence and operation of the Vojvodina aspiration to bureaucratic autonomy, what is in fact a retrograde particularism which is by all appearances rather strong and represents a brake upon the natural and inevitable social developments toward democratic and modern integration of physical and intellectual energies, without which there cannot be even rhetoric about our people's progress and socialism. Will the Sava and the Danube truly be boundaries even for our own generation between Belgrade and Novi Sad, between Macva and Srem, between Banat and Podunavlje? Can it be that certain party members can still look upon socialist and self-governing Vojvodina as some kind of bureaucratic province of their own to rule like a vaivode?" (p 61)

"From the standpoint of the achievability of unity of nationality and state, the Macedonian and Albanian people undoubtedly have the most difficult situation in the Balkans since they have been cut across by national borders. While the Macedonian people has been subjected to total denationalization in socialist Bulgaria and capitalistic Greece, the Albanian people has

unquestionably had better fortune in the framework of Yugoslavia. Regardless of that fact, regardless of the tyranny of Enver Hoxha and the unpromising nature of the present government regime in the state of Albania, regardless also of the very great economic, social and cultural boom of the Skipetar people in Yugoslavia and the progress of its social consciousness, especially thanks to the strong biological expansion and numerical superiority in the regions it inhabits on Yugoslav soil, it, the Skipetar people, carries within it an evident ethnocentric energy, and in certain strata even a desire or longing for unification with its fellow countrymen from Albania. That aspiration is being stimulated to an exceptional degree by certain processes taking place at present in Yugoslavia and by certain favoring conditions and tendencies in the Balkans and in the world. Mindful of how broad the political limits are today, the idea of a single nation-state community of the Albanian people could even attain in it a certain socialist platform and revolutionary slogans. In any case only under quite definite social conditions and developments could it spread more widely and embrace the masses of the Skipetar people. As irre-dentism it cannot have any serious political effect provided only that economic progress, democracy and social relations in Yugoslavia are always and in all respects superior to Albanian reality. As a matter of principle, we have no right to belittle the aspiration for national unity in the Skipetar people, to hide it from ourselves, to manipulate it in the manner of governors and bureaucrats. We are called upon to see it in correlation with the past and future of Serb-Skipetar relations and in the spirit of socialist internationalism.

"The Serbian people, which played a well-known role in liberating the Albanian people from Turkish, Austro-Hungarian and Italian imperialism, in spite of Pasic's and Alexander's hegemonistic policy and shameful and tragic waging of war against Albania for the purpose of 'having an outlet on the sea,' in spite of the inglorious 'revenge for Kosovo' in the era of achieving the 'Great Serbia' and the first Yugoslavia, in spite of the bloody retributions and violence of the Albanian begovat [province governed by a bey], the reactionary nobility and Ballist mercenaries against the Serbian and Montenegrin population even in quite recent history, whose adverse consequences have still persisted on both sides and represent the basis for any aggression, that freedom-loving and revolutionary Serbian people has the consciousness, strength and will to comprehend in democratic terms the national feelings of the Skipetars of Kosovo and Metohija and to support all their aspirations if they are democratic in content and form, if they do not threaten peace in the Balkans and the independence of the Yugoslav community, in short, if they do not achieve their national sovereignty in nationalistic forms and by threatening the survival, freedom and integrity of the Serbian people itself in Kosovo and Metohija. After all, the Serbs and Montenegrins did not conquer Kosovo and Metohija, nor did they take it by warfare from the Skipetars; therefore, they are not occupiers and conquerors there. Kosovo and Metohija are the old and original native land of the Serbian people. The Serbs today cannot establish their nationality policy in Kosovo and Metohija on historic rights, nor, of course, in the concept of the Pec Patriarchate, nor at any price by maintaining the present sociopolitical form and situation. On the contrary. But nor should the Skipetars of Kosovo and Metohija forget that the Serbs have lived together with them in Kosovo and Metohija for centuries, that the great works



of medieval Serbian culture and the myth of national liberation were created in that area, that the Serbian people made great sacrifices and expended great resources for the liberation and progress of Kosovo and Metohija, and that nearly 300,000 Serbs and Montenegrins are living there." (pp 63-65)

On that occasion Dobrica Cosic also said this: "With all my heart I desire that the future will refute the criticism I made yesterday of our political practice and my fears for certain of the outcomes of socialism. I will be happier than you if the future proves that yesterday I uttered only errors." (p 69) Reality has unfortunately shown that Cosic was right when he issued such an intelligent and also humanistic and internationalist warning. At the time he was rudely attacked because others were far from grasping the seriousness of the situation and not up to what the times required. Can he also be guilty even today, like some "perpetual scapegoat," solely because he was more farsighted than the others and because those who failed hold the physical power?

At the very beginning of this article, which by the nature of things has had to be rather on the long side, I said that the comments carried by Dr Zivorad Djordjevic interested me only as an expression of a political culture. Its protagonists seem to be living and operating in some kind of intermundium. They are always getting involved in public life, but there is a wide gap between their actual effect and the idea they have of themselves. They criticize the present situation from an objectivist distance--as though some kind of natural force was involved in which they have no part or responsibility. The deeper the crisis, the greater their arrogance. The smaller the real achievements, the more political-ideological noise they make. Judging by the frequency of attacks on "enemies of self-management socialism" there are more and more of them, although it is officially said that there are only a "little handful," and that they have been "definitively defeated." And when the picture of a repressive situation is created for the sake of a campaign, then that picture is also proclaimed to be the work of an "enemy." Yet we grew up long ago: the fight against the "enemies of self-management socialism" is usually in inverse proportion to the true struggle for democratic socialism.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Criticism of the Prevailing Ideological Conception in Nationality Policy" (uttered in a meeting of the Serbian LC Central Committee on 29 and 30 May 1968, and now published once again in the book "Stvarno i moguce," pp 56, 54 and 68).
2. Presumably he means "national throne"--no man with any sense would try to "arrive at a quasi-national throne"!
3. The text has obviously not been in the hands of a copy editor: How could "excessive preoccupation ... with national history" be anyone's "preoccupation"!?.
4. In any dictionary of foreign terms Dr Djordjevic might have seen that "motivi" and "pobude" mean the same thing [which is why the translation reads only "motives"--translator's note].



YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

LIBYAN HEALTH DELEGATION--Ljubljana, 12 Aug--From 10 to 12 August a Libyan health and rehabilitation delegation visited the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. It was led by the general director of the Libyan administration for rehabilitation of the disabled and safety in the workplace. The Libyan guests visited the institute for the rehabilitation of the disabled, the university clinical center, the republican committee for health and social welfare, and the institute for international scientific, technical, educational, and cultural cooperation, where, with representatives of the aforementioned organizations, they discussed possibilities for securing health workers for the rehabilitation center in Benghazi and other health institutions in Libya and possibilities for training Libyan health workers in Slovenia. [Text] [Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 13 Aug 83 p 2]

NEW AMBASSADOR TO JORDAN--Belgrade, 4 Aug (TANJUG)--By order of Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, Todor Bojadziejewski has been appointed SFRY ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. [Text] [LD060524 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1328 GMT 4 Aug 83]

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